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Some Educational Needs of the South

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From time to time in the history of the world there have come epochs when the ordinary processes of national development have been superseded by more rapid methods and when civilization has gone forward at a bound. Such epochs were seen in England in the last half of the sixteenth century and in New England in the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century. Such an epoch, I believe, is dawning upon us here in the South. I think I can see signs of it in the splendid industrial development of recent years, in our widely extended material prosperity, in a manifest tendency towards the break-up of the old sectional isolation and political segregation of the last half century, in the slow, but none the less sure, growth in vigor and independence of thinking, in a wide educational awakening, as yet vague and even till now ill-directed, but full of the promise of intellectual development and genuine human betterment. These tendencies are sufficient to make us hopeful of the future in spite of many discouraging features of our Southern civilization.

The life of the people of the Southern States after the civil war had to be almost wholly reconstructed and readjusted to new conditions. This process of rebuilding was in every way difficult, and while under the circumstances the progress that has been made is remarkable, yet the rebuilding has not been completed. In fact the tasks of a democratic society are never completed, and the work of improvement and the study of perfection must ever continue to go on. But our tasks are unusually difficult, for there has been a most pathetic backwardness in the Southern States for fifty years. It is a chief business of all intelligent Southern men, to seek to find a way out of this condition of

things, and to lead our beloved Southland back to the proud place it once held in the sisterhood of States. Every civilization must be largely judged by the kind of men and women it produces and by the ideals of excellence for which it stands. To keep these standards true and high is a task hard enough to call out the best in us all.

I lay particular stress on the value of educational ideals because of the supreme place that education holds in the thought and hope of our time. Education is the one thing as to the value of which all men everywhere, at present, are agreed. The problems of our day are therefore largely problems of education. And I do not mean to minimize the importance of other mighty agencies at work for the uplifting of the race; for such agencies include the church, the home, the press, to name only some of the most significant. To make effective in this country all the influences for which these various agencies stand, they must be reinforced by a right system of education that can be applied to the large body of American youth. By this means many of the reforms for which earnest men have long toiled might be carried through to success.

To solve the educational problems that confront us today then becomes a matter of the utmost importance, and to keep before the thoughtful people and especially the youth of the country right educational ideals is a condition upon which depends the very permanence of our democratic society. All civilized nations are making efforts to solve these problems now more than ever before. Much progress has been made; but there is yet a great deal to be done, especially in the lower grades of education. What have we done, in the Southern States, what are we doing, and what do we propose to do? There are two foolish attitudes of mind that may disable the judgment of a critic of local conditions. The first is the disposition to despise everything that is familiar. The second is an almost selfish local patriotism that praises exorbitantly the things of one's own community, State, or section of country. It is the business of sensible people to avoid both these extremes and to speak of things just as they are.

The South has always had some beautiful ideals of life; of these it would be a pleasure to speak if they came within the range of this subject. But in educational matters, as in business methods,

the South is only beginning to set before itself the tasks and undertakings that have engaged other parts of the country for generations. It is only a beginning, but it is a splendid beginning and full of promise. We are accustomed to lay all the blame for our educational deficiencies on the poverty that followed the civil war. But this will not account for the facts. It was not the policy of the people of the Southern States to place a school house and a public library by the side of the church in every community, as the people of New England have done. In 1860 there were almost no first-rate colleges in the entire South. There were some that had distinguished teachers and social prestige unequalled by our colleges today, but they were not so organized as to become true seats of learning and large centers of culture.

Uncontrollable circumstances set us in the wrong way, but we are at last catching step with the modern world in the use we are making of the greatest agency of civilization; for education in the true sense of the word is now everywhere regarded as the surest and quickest method of promoting human progress, intelligence, and happiness. The power of genuine educational leadership has lately been exemplified anew in the movement which a very few men, led by General Armstrong at Hampton, Va., have set on foot for the industrial education of the negro and Indian races. This work begun by General Armstrong in a camp of refugees, has become so valuable and so impressive that there is a widespread tendency among educators of white youth to imitate it and to give undue emphasis to the same sort of education for the whites; hence the rapid rise and growth of technological schools, and agricultural and mechanical, and normal and industrial colleges all over the South. That would be an easy, if adequate, way to settle our educational question; but it is more difficult and far-reaching than that easy-going settlement of it would imply. We have a different race to deal with, with a different inheritance and an entirely different set of problems to handle. One of the first tasks that confront the South is, to be sure, the material uplifting of the section, the development of all kinds of business, the creation of wealth, and the building of real forces of civilization. One of the most useful lessons to teach our people is the lesson of work—hard, steady, unremitting labor. The object of education here should not be merely to give cultiva-

tion—cultivation of the mind, of the manners, of the morals of youth; it is not the part of any college that would contribute to the life of the people to stress education in a narrow or technical sense. Our model should be the English, rather than the German, university. Ours is a vital kind of work and we ought not to put the emphasis of our effort on matters of organization, schedules of study, requirements for admission and graduation, proper correlation of schools and colleges, technical scholarship, original research and contribution to knowledge, important as are all these. These should not be sought first, but the first aim should be to create vital forces, to make hard workers for Southern progress, to produce men of ideas and power and women of refinement and genuine human helpfulness. These other things are more likely to come as a sort of unearned increment, than if they are sought directly and primarily. To make men of full, harmonious nature, rather than to create skilled workmen or specialists of any kind, should be our object, to make men of character rather than mere money getters, if we must choose between the two. The Southern people are poor and ought to be encouraged by every right method to get more of the good things of this world; but to educate a race of mere money makers would be to hurry in an era of sordid materialism that would be a more deadening blight to high and worthy living than ignorance and poverty have been. For the shiftless, homeless negro or Indian race the first need is practical education; but our race should be supplied not alone with trained hands that will bring to us the material prosperity that we so much need, but also with trained minds that will bring to us the intellectual honesty and vigor even more sorely needed in our life, and that will promulgate widely among the people right views on the so-called Southern question, on politics, on religion, on education, on scholarship, on literature, on journalism, and on all other human concerns. Our most pressing need is a body of rightly educated men in all walks of life who can inculcate in our people, and through their own deeds illustrate, the supreme value in Southern society today of plain, blunt intellectual honesty, of straight, clear thinking, and of downright freedom of speech.

Education is the great remedy, but it must be the kind of education that fits men and women for the actual life they are

to live; otherwise it is not preparation for their tasks but it leads to failure and unhappiness. In our conditions what are our chief educational needs?

1. We need the primary education of all the people. I think the life of the well-to-do in the best estate of the old South was the sweetest, though I doubt if it was the fullest and strongest, life that has been lived on this continent. But for the less fortunate there was almost as small opportunity as there was for the poor in ancient Athens or under the feudal system of the Middle Ages. From the earliest days of our history down till now there has been a gross neglect of the lower classes of the whites. There has been a failure to develop much of the talent that has lain latent through all these generations. This has been the most ruinous waste in our civilization, for it has been a waste of human life.

And this neglect of the masses has been an economic waste. The stupendous cost of ignorance was long ago pointed out by Gen. Francis Marion, the revolutionary hero of South Carolina. He said if the masses of the people of South Carolina had been enlightened they would have been united, and if they had been united the British after the drubbing they got at Fort Moultrie, in 1776, would as soon have attacked the devil as have attacked Carolina again. But the British heard of the large number who through ignorance were disaffected to the cause of liberty and they were therefore led to protract the war.

Marion then goes on to show that, owing to the foothold the British gained in South Carolina, the war was protracted two years; and makes a curious estimate of the loss to South Carolina in those two years, at \$15,000,000. 'As a proof,' he continues, "that such hellish tragedies would never have been acted, had our State been enlightened, only let us look at the people of New England: Religion had taught them that God created men to be happy; that to be happy, they must have virtue; that virtue is not to be attained without knowledge; nor knowledge without instruction; nor public instruction without free schools; nor free schools without legislative order." Here, General Marion laid his finger on a fundamental defect in our old Southern civilization. A mere reference to all that this defect has cost our civilization is enough to fill every Southern man with infinite regret and

sorrow. The public school system of the South may be said to date from 1870. The exhaustion that followed the civil war, the nightmare of reconstruction, and the double system of public education made necessary by the presence of the negro have rendered progress slow; but there is at last a widespread interest in universal education, and all thoughtful men, even if they do not always approve, should by sober counsel and wise action help to direct and advance this popular movement for the training of all the people and do everything in their power to keep it out of the hands of educational quacks and men who have an axe to grind. The movement as yet has manifested itself too much in idle talk, and I have less confidence than the average man in the efficiency of mere talk; yet I believe it augurs well that the subject is everywhere in the air and is constantly being brought to the minds of all.

The great need is more money for public schools. Public sentiment should demand of our legislatures every possible saving in other directions so that more money may be available for this use. Local taxation should be encouraged. Teachers must be better paid. There is now no other way to attract to the profession and hold permanently the right sort of men.

There has been organized at the North the General Education Board, the declared object of which is the promotion of popular education in the United States. Because the South offers the best field for this kind of investment, the efforts of this Board at present are put forth mainly here. In connection with this Board works the Southern Education Board, which exists for the propaganda of popular education in the South. As this movement is conceived by Northern men it is, in my opinion, a large, constructive, statesmanlike piece of national philanthropy, and ought to do good and only good. It is to be hoped that Southern men may co-operate, as far as they have occasion to co-operate at all, in the same disinterested and dignified way. If people on the outside wish to give money to help forward popular education, or any other good work among us, I can see no reason why we should not take it, provided of course, it is offered in a perfectly proper spirit. But any truckling or posing in a receptive attitude on the part of Southern men would be a lasting humiliation to a right thinking, self-respecting people. Some

of our most clear-headed men have seemed to see a taint of such truckling and straightway they have spoken out against the whole movement. The dread of the very appearance of evil has kept still others aloof from it, and whether the movement will finally succeed does not yet appear. It has already been useful in bringing about a better understanding between intelligent men of the North and the South, and since it is an effort to help us in our arduous tasks I could find it in my heart to wish that this undertaking, nobly conceived as I believe it has been, may be so managed as to bring large good to our people.

2. We need in its place and without undue exaggeration industrial education and manual training. In my opinion this ought to come before the child is sixteen years old, and I am not concerned with it because of its supposed utilitarian value, but for its value as training and support for youthful character. The minds and the characters of children are helped by accurate work. This result may be got from manual training and is most valuable early in the child's life. The doing of a definite piece of work and the coming into close contact with external nature tend to produce accuracy and practical ability. For country children this might best be got from the household duties, the garden, the stable, the farm. These last have the added worth of being actual service—work, not playing at work. For city children a good substitute is manual training. In most cases this should come before the child is sixteen, to be prolonged at technological schools by those who specially care for it and who will naturally be helped by it in their life work.

It is now popular for young men to go to technological, scientific, mechanical, and industrial schools rather than to the regular college. This tendency will do good in some ways, but unless checked it is sure to do great harm to the cause of education and civilization. It is for every reason desirable to keep our most promising youth in college, where the chief object is not to turn out skilled workmen, but to make men of high character and power. Many of these best youth desire a scientific education. The only way for the college to hold this class of students is to build up strong scientific departments, and allow such students to elect, during the later years of their course, most of their work in science, and thus get a thorough scientific education

that will fit them in part or fully for the various scientific and technological professions, or prepare them for entering the best professional schools. And the programmes of study in our colleges for women should be directed towards the development of the graces of character and conduct in keeping with the best traditions of Southern womanhood, and should supply the solid material for a liberal education that will fit our young women for the largest service to society.

3. We need high grade colleges. For the reason that all educational reform must begin at the top and work downward, I believe that the supreme need in Southern education is a small number of well equipped and well endowed colleges for men and women, so organized and so controlled as to become true seats of learning and large centers of influence. I have the utmost sympathy for the humblest college that is striving to give its students the highest it can give in character and in education. Nothing is to be condemned that helps to lick a cub of a boy into the lion of manhood or that tends to create a gentle atmosphere in which the bud of girlhood may bloom into the flower of womanhood. While the humblest college may be useful in a more or less local way in making men and women, yet it is to the well equipped and well endowed college that we must look for all educational reforms. Other colleges must be content to give students more or less what they and their parents desire, because their existence depends on tuition year by year. They cannot have the independence that is needed to lead in any reform, and they cannot carry influence enough to make the reform effective. "Everything great is formative," Goethe said, and hardly anything else is formative. If there is any hope of educational reform in the Southern States, and I believe there is, we must look to the leadership of a few of the best equipped and best endowed colleges. The work I have in mind to be done by the college cannot even be approximated except by colleges that have larger facilities and larger prospects than most of our colleges in the past have had.

Such colleges must stand fast for truth and freedom. There is much in the life of every people that tends to put undue emphasis on the local and the temporary and to obscure the universal and permanent. A great college must be free to seek this univer-

sal truth and free to teach it. The four years of the college course ought to be given, not to confirming picked youth in their inherited or acquired prejudices and preconceptions, but to the liberating and ennobling search for truth. This fight for freedom in which to live and grow will at times call for all the power and heroism of the strongest. But it is the same battle for liberty in which our forefathers fought, and we too must be free. We need not be discouraged if this freedom is sometimes abused; for every human privilege is liable to abuse, and it is peculiarly true, as Macaulay said, that the remedy for the abuse of liberty is not less of it but more.

It appears to some people that higher education is an exclusive thing, that its benefits are confined to a small number. As a matter of fact its blessings are as permeating and as widespread as the air which we all breathe. We often hear the officials of Southern colleges claim that their institutions are for the poor boy or girl and therefore no one is ever turned away. This claim is usually insincere and always fallacious. Our ideal ought to be put in reach of every youth the best opportunities. The aim should be, not to lower college standards so that anybody can enter, but rather, by building up higher and secondary education, to make a way for every youth to develop himself to the fullest, and thus bring it to pass among us that every career shall be open to talent.

The college may help secondary education by creating interest in the subject, by diffusing better ideas about education, and by pointing the way to better educational methods and truer educational aims. The schools are furthermore absolutely dependent on the colleges for teachers who are competent to give instruction and who have themselves been so guided and inspired as they in turn may guide and inspire the youth committed to their hands into the higher fields of learning or to enter as earnest and efficient toilers into the work of the world. There is great need for competent young men in the preparatory schools; but for a well trained man with high aims and hopes to become a school teacher in most parts of the South today demands the same moral earnestness and enthusiasm for humanity that carries a missionary to the jungles of Africa. Yet to the right men this kind of work offers a rare opportunity to serve men greatly; and I have the

faith to believe there are those worthy who will hear this call to noble service and will receive the reward of success that may always be expected by those who do useful work.

One other thing that can be best done by first-class higher institutions of learning is to set before the youth of the South right and true and high ideals of scholarship, literature, citizenship, and real greatness of every kind. The majority of our newspapers, our Fourth of July orators (which category unfortunately includes too many of our public speakers), our political conditions, and, sad to say, many of our schools and colleges, and even some of our preachers and moral teachers are throwing the bulk of their influence against right ideals in many departments of life, or at any rate in favor of wholly inadequate ideals. I am not accustomed to paint for myself or for others the darker side of things. I only wish to emphasize the magnitude of the work that lies before the right-minded and right-educated men and women of this generation.

It is the duty of the college to seek after the most improved methods, the most modern organization, to maintain high educational ideals. It is the part of wisdom to utilize all the best results of modern educational progress, to make use of the most improved means for the attainment of the finest ends. But in paying attention to educational machinery, there must be no losing sight of the vital things in education. Important as are teachers and scholars, adequate material equipment, modern organization and standards, traditions of fine ideals and high achievement, not these are the glory of a college, but the generations of college students who here grow into men and women of intelligence and character and are sent forth into the world to spread truth and righteousness. For we do not educate men for the pleasure they are to get out of it. It is not the business of colleges to produce an educated cult whose chief end of existence is a sort of Epicurean refinement of tastes, to be enjoyed in isolation. Education is for service. Educated men of the South today should not spend their lives in easeful, kid-gloved seclusion from their fellows, but in the stream of the world. They ought to be gallant and thoroughly disciplined soldiers in the long warfare for the emancipation of humanity out of darkness and ignorance into light and truth. The duty of service to one's fellows must be held high in all our colleges; for only thus may we

observe the great commandment of Plato, "Let those who have lamps pass them on to others."

It will have been observed that I have an exalted conception of the function of a great college. I believe that from the revival of letters five hundred years ago until now every advance in civilization has been dependent on influences which have proceeded from seats of learning. These have kept alive the fires that have lighted every nation in christendom on the way that leads to material prosperity and to the intellectual and moral worth upon which depends all individual and national greatness.

It will also have been observed that I do not take a too optimistic view of educational conditions in the South. There is a great deal to be done; but not more than we can do, when we cease to be over-anxious to defend what we are and have been, look our conditions squarely in the face, study them dispassionately in connection with what has been done elsewhere in the world, hold to what is best in our own civilization, and have no fear to adopt from others what is better than our own. No strong man and no strong people ever slavishly imitated others. But the fear of following others in the things that are better than one's own is as weak and foolish as is slavish imitation. We are justly proud of many things in Southern civilization and of the peculiar type of Southern character, and it is to be hoped that these best things may be always kept.

I have urged with all the emphasis I could command that every educated man should do his full stint of work and should give his highest service to society. I would not close without drawing attention to the gentler side of Southern civilization. For it was the graciousness, the hospitality, and the beauty and purity of the social life that was the best characteristic of the old order. And education should help to keep and transmit undiminished the old grace, generosity, and magnanimity of our elders, and should contribute to the cultivation of mind and taste and the refinement of manners that make living with each other sweet and wholesome. For, after birth and breeding, great books stand first in their "eligibility to free, to arouse, to dilate," and loving and living in the beautiful charm of books is the securest nourishment of the poise and fineness of temper that form an essential part of the spiritual constitution of every gentle man and woman.

Theodore Mommsen: His Place in Modern Scholarship

BY WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD

In reviewing the progress of historical studies in the nineteenth century there are a few men whose names stand in strong relief before all others. In their work meet the best in the heritage of previous years and the decisive influences of their own generation. Ranke suggests the search of archives and the study of documentary materials whose application to early modern history marks an epoch in historiography. Neander and Hagenbach elevated the church from the limitations of theological controversy and opened the way for contemporary criticism of religious institutions. Michelet and Guizot represent all that is attractive in, as well as the deficiencies of, those methods which until recently dominated French historical literature, while Stubbs stands for the best in modern contributions to our knowledge of English history. The productivity of none of these men, however, was so great or extended to so many fields of scholarship as that of Theodore Mommsen. Students of classical law, institutions, and culture, as well as of political history, are indebted to him for services which were indispensable to our present knowledge of Roman civilization. Of the multitude who answer the seductive call to the pursuit of learning, he was one of the chosen few whose fortune it was to enter the inner sanctuary and unvail the wonder and the beauty thereof. In his death, last November, the world lost one of its master scholars; his equal will rarely, if ever, be seen. Yet he was "fortunate in the occasion of death." He had done thrice the life work of one man. He had lived, lacking less than a month, eighty-six years. The associates of his youth had gone before him, and his eye-sight threatened to fail. What better end for this mortal life than painlessly and suddenly, according to his desire, to pay the "last of life's arrears," and leave the lamps he had lighted to the care of the hands he had trained and guided into service?

Theodore Mommsen was born in the duchy of Holstein, November 30, 1817. His father was a clergyman and was not

able to do much for the son's career. But it was an age when the material and intellectual life of Germany was awakening, when merit and close application won speedy recognition. In 1834, Mommsen entered the Christianeum of Altona, one of those educational foundations, half gymnasium, half academic, from which several of the later German universities took their origin. In 1838 he matriculated at Kiel as a student of law. Through Otto Jahn, then teaching at Kiel, he became interested in philology. He formed a friendship with Theodore Storm, the poet, and they collected and published some of the legends and popular poetry of Germany. In 1843 he received his degree and obtained a stipend from the Danish government which enabled him to spend three years in travel and study. He went to Italy and made the collection of Neapolitan inscriptions which years later was published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. In 1848 he was called to the chair of Roman law in Leipsig. His criticism of political conditions forced him as well as Jahn and Haupt, to leave the university in 1850. The next four years he taught at Zürich. From there he was called to Breslau. The popularity of his Roman history which began to appear in 1854 and his relation to the incipient *Corpus Inscriptionum* led him to make his permanent residence in Berlin, where he remained till his death, a member of the academy and part of the time professor of ancient history in the university. His power of doing work was something wonderful. In 1857 Jahn wrote: "I do not spare the exertion of my strength; this year I have worked very diligently but I can not come up to Mommsen." His activity lasted until a few days before his death, and a review of his contributions to learning is also a review of the progress of Latin scholarship in the nineteenth century.

By far the widest known of Mommsen's works is his Roman History. The first volume was published in 1854; the next two in 1855 and 1856: the fourth, which was to deal with the central government at Rome under the Cæsars, was never completed; it was begun but the manuscript was destroyed by fire, and Mommsen became too much interested in other work to begin it over again. The fifth volume, on the provinces, was extended into two which were published in 1885. The Roman History enjoys a unique place in the literature of classical history. It is one of

the most brilliant pieces of historical writing ever produced. When its publication began, the world had not recovered from the recent loss of its classical heroes. In 1795 Wolf's *Prolegomena* prepared the way for contemporary opinion regarding the Homeric poems. Niebuhr's history of Rome published in 1817 attacked the sources of early Roman history. He treated the generally accepted accounts of the regal period and the early republic as fables which, however, contained a residuum of truth. His arguments were unanswerable, but lacked conclusive evidence. It was while the strife over the hypotheses of Wolf and Niebuhr was keenest that Mommsen's first volume was published. Its attitude toward Roman origins was a novel one. The legends and folk lore which even Niebuhr had accepted under limitations, were not the survivals of primitive civilization but a tissue of lies, the inventions of late ages. The Romans were essentially a practical people; they pointed to the fathers for example in all problems; what more natural than that they should read back into their early history the deeds of the Gracchi, of Sulla, Marius, and Cæsar? Having rejected the sources which Niebuhr had used as well as criticized, it was necessary to introduce new methods. First, Mommsen turned to the new science of comparative philology founded by Bopp and Grimm. From a study of the words which re-occur in the Aryan dialects, he concluded that at some distant time the Graeco-Italian tribes lived together. Because the words for sheep, cow, and house are similar, the Greeks and Romans must have been one race when they began to live in houses and depended on flocks and herds for sustenance. Because of diversity in the names of cultivated plants, they separated before much progress was made in the agricultural arts. In this way the character of early Roman culture was reproduced. For the nature of early institutions, the method of Varro and Flaccus, namely, deduce the unknown from the known, from well defined institutions deduce by a comparative method their origin. A most brilliant application of this is his explanation of the aristocratic character of the priesthood. In the regal period the priesthood was intimately associated with the royal power. When monarchy gave way to the democratic movement, the choice of civil officers passed to the citizens but that of pontiffs, augurs, and other religious officers fell under aristo-

cratic influences, and the exclusive character of the priesthood remained one of the anomalies of republican institutions. Mommsen's explanation is, that the aristocratic influence, at the time of the reform of the constitution, was strong enough to force a compromise and have the choice of religious officials confined to seventeen of the thirty-five tribes of the *Comitia Tributa*. The priesthood then demanded and obtained the right to accept or reject the candidates chosen by this minority. In this way aristocratic influence was always strong in the religious institutions.

The entire character of the study of Roman institutions was altered. From legends and literary remains, interest turned to the value of language and the comparative examination of institutions. The first volume made, and will continue to make, a deep impression on all readers. A young German, seventeen years of age, had just matriculated as a chemical student at Dörpat; he read the new history, deserted his blow-pipe and bottles, and dedicated his life to the study of classical civilization. That was Otto Seeck, one of the most promising of contemporary classical scholars in Germany and Mommsen's most severe critic. Later researches have discredited many of Mommsen's conclusions. It was only the other day that an Italian student told us that there is nothing trustworthy in the sources of Roman history prior to 440 B. C. But for a revelation of the life of a people, an example of the presentation of the results of painstaking investigation and the use of imagination, nothing save the "Decline and Fall" equals the Roman History.

Mommsen was a jurist as well as an historian. In his own opinion, his greatest book was his work on Roman public law, the *Staats Recht*, the first part of which appeared in 1871, the second in 1887. Its value can only be appreciated when we recall previous efforts on the same subject. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century French jurists were interested only in the domain of private law. Religious problems in Germany prevented the development of legal criticism and Dutch scholars were absorbed in philology. The only work done in Roman public law in the period is that of the Italian Sigonius.* He was a man of

**De Antiquo Jure Civium Romanorum*. Venice 1580.

wide learning and well read in Roman history. But he had no adequate legal training, his mind had a scholastic rather than a legal character, and he was not interested in practical politics, and so he lacked three things indispensable for lasting work in jurisprudence. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century there was a change. Montesquieu awakened popular interest in comparative law and administration, and in 1766 Louis de Beaufort published his *La Republique Romaine*. He discussed the sovereignty of the people, the power of the magistrates, legal customs, and the rights of citizens and subjects. The book showed an independent investigation of sources, a sound judgment, and a strong historical sense. It was the first to show the relation of the conflict of the orders to constitutional development, a very significant subject for the political life of the eighteenth century, which Montesquieu had strangely overlooked. It was also the first book that made a modern interpretation of the land laws of the Gracchi.* But Beaufort was a historian rather than a jurist, and as a contribution to jurisprudence his work is defective.

It was Mommsen who first approached the problems of the Roman constitution with juristic as well as historical preparation. He also used with advantage his knowledge of philology and inscriptions. The first part of the *Staats Recht* treats of what we might designate the metaphysics of the Roman constitution, those fundamental principles which are the source of the authority exercised by the officials of the state, the Roman religion and its relation to law, and the distinction between civil and military life. The three great ideas of sovereignty of the citizens, collegiality of office, and annuity of public service were for the first time clearly and elaborately presented in their bearing on constitutional powers and limitations. The last volumes deal with the relation between people and senate, the allies and subject states, and the powers of the principate. The method is both inductive and deductive. The treatment of the monarchy and early republic is deductive, the principles of the later constitution being used to explain their obscure origins; the discus-

*As a historian Beaufort is one of the precursors of Niebuhr. In 1738 he published an essay in which he criticised the legends of the kings and developed the modern theory regarding Fursena. *Dissertation sur l'incertitude des cinq premiers siecles de la Republique romaine. Utrecht 1738.*

sion of the principate, on the other hand, is inductive, inscriptions and literary material being relied on as the sources for constitutional theory. The whole work is notable for the use of clear, convincing logic, and a brilliant imagination. Supplemented by the *Straf Recht* in 1899, we here have a fitting climax to the revival of interest in Roman institutions inaugurated by Niebuhr.

The Roman History and the *Staats Recht* could never have been written had Mommsen not collected and used materials inaccessible to his predecessors. This leads us to his greatest service to scholarship, that source from which all future students of Roman civilization must get material, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Classical epigraphy and diplomatics had long received varied attention. With the revival of humanism in southern Europe, many towns and cities began to make individual collections of monuments, coins, inscriptions, and other evidences that seemed to indicate ancient relations with Greece and Rome. In the eighteenth century a movement was inaugurated to form a general collection of these remains of antique civilization. The first result was the Greek *Corpus* of Boeckh published in 1824. But Boeckh had never visited Greece. He left the collection of materials to other students and travelers. He had only their reports and reproductions of the sources to rely on. Moreover, he had no conception of the study of inscriptions as an independent science. To him it was an adjunct of philology. In the same spirit and method Orelli made his collection of Roman inscriptions (1828). He compiled from old collections, he relied on copies rather than originals, and made no new contribution. Evidently a new and better *Corpus* of Roman inscriptions was needed. The idea was, perhaps, that of Jahn: he at least prevailed on the Berlin Academy to undertake the work. Mommsen was entrusted with its execution. All Europe was visited for the verification of old sources and the discovery of new ones. These had to be compared and edited. This required the coöperation of many scholars. The field of labor was mapped out. The investigation of each province was given to some authority, each city to some special worker. Directing all was a central bureau of which Mommsen was the head. A total of 130,000 inscriptions were brought together; of these Mommsen edited one-half and supervised the rest. The first volume of the *Corpus* appeared in 1863

and so far eight folio volumes have been published. The stimulus given to classical studies can hardly be estimated. A present and living interest has been given to the study of Roman history and further progress in our knowledge of ancient culture made possible.

In addition to these services, each equal to the life work of one man, Mommsen made other contributions to learning. His monographs on Italian dialects prepared the way for the scientific study of the Italian languages. His work on Roman chronology is no less important. His history of the Roman coinage marks an epoch; he was the first to appreciate the culture value of coins, first to show how they may represent the influence of one race on another, and first to indicate their importance in the development of trade. A short article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* did much to start the study of the Christian persecutions from a juristic standpoint. The *Monumenta Germanica* was enriched by his editorial work on the *Antiquissimi Auctores*. At the time of his death he had almost completed a new edition of the Theodosian Code. Yet this is no more than a beginning of his bibliography. It is too early to attempt a final estimate of the value of his work. How meagre would our knowledge of Roman civilization be had Mommsen's work not been done; his general influence on classical studies is well stated in his own language.*

Unless the scholar has that human element that leads his sympathies beyond his books to his students, from them to the world interests of his age, his life will be but half complete. In Mommsen's personality, social interests and ideals of public service gave knowledge a peculiar charm. He made a lasting impression on all who knew him.

"With the stroke of the academic hour," says Seeck, "the door opened and a haggard little man whose head was covered by a mass of gray hair, passed with a shambling walk through our ranks to ascend the

*The following quotation is from an article by Jonas in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for 1897: "The epoch when the historian knew nothing of jurisprudence, and the jurist was active in historical investigation only in his own hedge, when it seemed foolish to the philologist to open the Digest and the Romanist knew nothing of ancient civilization save the *Corpus Juris*; when there was a separation between the two halves of Roman law, public and private, numismatics and epigraphy were a kind of strange science and the citation of a coin outside their circle an exception—this is an epoch of the past, and it is perhaps with my service, before all my fortune, that I have helped in this deliverance."

lecture platform. A sharp, thin voice, which had not the least declamatory style, spoke to us, and a pair of gray eyes looked at us penetratingly through brilliant glasses and forced our attention to them. . . . He gave an expression to each sentence suitable to its meaning. He was always carefully prepared; he looked at the notes before him only to find the lost thread of the discourse or to read a name or a year for which his memory was by no means excellent. . . . His oratorical powers were limited. Yet I have never heard a lecture more to my satisfaction. Often he stopped, sought the right word, or better one, but we always saw how the thought guided him to his style and thus gave him charm. I rejoiced in anticipation of that lecture hour and was never absent."

His seminar met at his residence.

"When we left his house at eight in the evening," continues Seeck, "we sought a *kneipe*. His criticism impressed us so much that he remained for a long time the subject of our talk and gave student frivolity an excuse for a late hour. When he once in a while entertained us at his table, or—more preferable to us—he accepted our invitation to a *kneipe*, it was a precious evening. The talk flowed on politics and industry, literature and art; he knew all things and could characterise them with a gracious word or biting sarcasm as the occasion deserved. Thus we learned that a historian must indeed work hard, but must keep his nose above his books, and look freshly into the wide world about him, if he would become a true historian. And if heads became hot, even if all bands of bashful timidity threatened to give way, he still retained his seat in the happy circle and laughed and drank like a gay young student.*

His interest in his students continued after the severing of university relations. Seeck, his keenest critic, received much aid from him in his edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*; and after numerous polemical controversies he received a note from Mommsen entrusting him with the finishing touches of the Theodosian Code in case of his own death before its completion.

The greatest tribute to Mommsen's character was his interest in the public problems of Germany. His scholarly productions were to him secondary to the service he would render to the national life of the Fatherland. He fought the separation of Schleswig-Holstein and in 1847 participated in the publication of the *Schleswig-Holstein Journal*. He desired a final separation of the German States from Austrian leadership and the formation of a national German union. His political ideas are reflected in

*Seeck in *Deutsche Rundschau*, January, 1904. It should be noted that students not specially interested in classical history do not give so favorable an account of Mommsen's lectures.

Roman history. The origin of the city state through a union of tribes, the extension of domain by conquest and federation, the long conflict of the orders culminating in the advent of a national sovereign representative of the ideas of Roman democracy—this is nothing less than a picture of the possibilities he saw in Germany. But when the German liberator came, Mommsen was not satisfied with the system. Bismarck was to him an aristocrat, a representative of that cabinet absolutism which makes monarchy dangerous. We will not recall the details of Mommsen's opposition. It resulted in a political prosecution and retirement from public life in 1882. Our admiration for his ability to work hard and long, our regard for his scholarship, our appreciation of his human sympathies are deepened by these evidences of his desire to bring a better political liberty to his people.

The Persians of Timotheus

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The discovery of the papyrus roll containing the "Persians" of Timotheus on February 1, 1902, gave to the world in what is now the oldest extant Greek manuscript, a specimen of a new class of poetry, the nome, of which no example had previously been found.

The poem came to light while Dr. Ludwig Borchardt as director of the work of the German Oriental Society was making excavations in Busiris, modern Abusir, a suburb of Memphis in Egypt, for the purpose of uncovering a royal tomb of the Old Empire. In more recent times this spot had been used as a burial ground by the people of Busiris and it was necessary to dig through these later strata to reach the old king's resting place. Some of these later graves belonged to Greeks who had settled there before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander. They had learned to embalm their dead like the Egyptian mummies and had adopted the native custom of putting into their tombs such articles as were likely to help or entertain the departed in their new life. It was here that Dr. Borchardt uncovered a huge wooden coffin containing the mummy of a powerful Greek, and found by the side of the head of the coffin a small broken leathern purse, the remains of a sponge, a rusty iron instrument, a piece of polished wood, a pair of sandals, and most important of all, a roll of papyrus. When it was unrolled, the importance of the discovery was at once recognized. There were several columns of Greek verse, written in archaic characters that were perfectly legible where the papyrus was intact, and the mention which the author makes of himself in the latter part showed that a poem of Timotheus of Miletus had been brought to light.

The manuscript is 7.3 inches wide by 43.7 inches long. Of the six broad columns the last four having been on the inside of the roll are almost faultlessly preserved, but the first column was on the outside and served as the only cover that the roll had, consequently it was torn into small shreds which in many cases

contain but a single letter. The second column likewise had several large rents in it, the inner parts being preserved better than the outer. The result is that the whole of the first column and more than a third of the second are in such a fragmentary condition that they do not admit of translation. To the left of the first column the margin is very narrow and, moreover, it is plainly to be seen that the papyrus had been cut off at this point. Add to this the fact that there was no cover on the roll, and that no one of the three fragments of the poem handed down to us by Plutarch is found in the manuscript, and we have good reasons to infer that we have here only the last part of a papyrus roll. To judge from the contents of the extant poem, perhaps as much as a half has been lost. We may assume then that the heir of the buried Greek divided the poem with him, keeping the first part for himself and giving him the remainder to serve as a means of entertainment on his journey to Hades.

The accompanying finds indicate that the buried Greek died before Alexander's conquest of Egypt. In fact, nothing has as yet been dug up in this burial ground that seems to be as late as the time of Alexander. Hence the grave dates from about the middle of the fourth century, and the manuscript, which must of necessity be older than the grave, may safely be put at 340 B. C. It therefore belongs to the time of Demosthenes and Aristotle, and is older than the manuscript of Plato containing portions of the *Phædo* that was recovered from the Gurob mummy-cases, a papyrus written perhaps within a hundred years of Plato's death. It antedates also a papyrus of about 300 B. C. in the Imperial Library at Vienna containing the invocation of a certain Artemisia against the father of her child. It is the oldest Greek manuscript that we possess.

The papyrus, as well as the corpse, coffin, and other objects found, was carried to Berlin and placed on exhibition in the Egyptian division of the Royal Museum in October, 1902. The German Oriental Society entrusted the publication of the *editio princeps* of the new poem of Timotheus to Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, of the University of Berlin. In about a year from the time that the manuscript first emerged from its hiding-place of the past twenty-two centuries and a half, the eminent Hellenist published a fac-simile edition with seven photographic

plates, and a text edition containing an arrangement of the poem in 253 short verses and a full commentary on the metre, language, and style. The editor declares that it is impossible to translate Timotheus into a modern language, and accordingly appends to his text edition a paraphrase of the original in scholiastic Greek, that is, such Greek as the ancient commentators wrote.

Timotheus of Miletus (447-357 B. C.), the pupil of Phrynis, wrote nomes, dithyramps, and hymns, and was recognized as one of the greatest lyric poets of his day. He was an innovator—"let the old-fashioned muse go," he says in one of the fragments—and as such he was severely attacked by the comic poet, Pherecrates and others. The story goes that the ephors at Sparta stripped from his lyre four of its eleven strings in order to reduce them to the approved number. Similar stories are told of Terpander and Phrynis. At any rate, he became one of the most popular musicians of his age: high prices were paid for his poems and he was summoned to the courts of kings. After his death his works became classics and children were made to learn them by heart. Later, a reaction set in under the influence of the Alexandrian school, and literary taste was so changed that in the time of Augustus no one any longer read anything of Timotheus.

The word "nome" originally meant "tune." It was applied to solos on the flute and lyre, and to vocal solos accompanied by the flute or lyre. Generally, the nome was a vocal solo sung, with the accompaniment of the lyre, in honor of the gods, chiefly Apollo. In contrast to the passionate dithyramb used in the worship of Dionysus, it was usually quiet and solemn, and was sung not by a chorus, but by a single performer, often the poet himself. There was, besides, no dance and hence no arrangement in strophes and antistrophes. Like the dithyramb it was afterwards secularized and treated of other subjects than the gods, and accordingly lost some of its solemnity. The proper rendering of a nome called for talent and a considerable outlay of energy. The poet must play his own accompaniment on the lyre and sing a long song with sufficient distinctness to be understood by a multitude of people in the open air. Furthermore, when there were many parts, he must impersonate different characters and give expression to various feelings and emotions.

Terpander gave the nome an artistic form by dividing it into the following seven parts: (1) the "beginning," (2) the "after-beginning," (3) the "transition," (4) the "after-transition," (5) the "navel," (6) the "seal" and (7) the "epilogue." In the newly discovered poem of Timotheus the first four of these divisions and a part of the fifth are missing. The parts preserved are the greater portion of the "navel," the center or main body of the poem, here consisting of 214 verses; the "seal," wherein the author attaches his personal stamp or seal to the poem (34 verses); and, finally, the "epilogue," here a prayer of five verses to Apollo. Naturally, the title of the poem is not given in these last parts, but the name of the author is given. Timotheus names himself, and moreover describes a naval victory won by the Greeks over the Persians under the eye of the Great King. This can be no other than the battle of Salamis, and we can without doubt identify the poem with Timotheus's nome called the "Persians" that is mentioned by Pausanias, Plutarch, and others. There is every reason to believe that Timotheus's "Persians," like Aeschylus's "Persians," dealt with this great naval battle. The three fragments preserved by Plutarch and not found in the Abusir papyrus, must belong to the first part of the poem. Plutarch records the fact that the "Persians" was sung in competition for a prize at the Nemean games in 207-206 B. C., and that as Philopœmen, then general of the Achæan League, entered the theater surrounded by his young officers, the citharode Pylades was just singing, as it happened, the first verse of the poem:

"Winning for Greece glorious liberty, a great ornament to her,"

whereupon the eyes of all were turned upon Philopœmen. The other two fragments are:

"Cherish a sense of honor, which helps to make valor in battle,"

and

"War is King; as for gold, Greece does not fear it."

The battle of Salamis was fought in the straits between Salamis and the Attic coast, as the Persians were entering the narrows. Themistocles's apparently friendly message of the previous day to Xerxes that the Greeks were planning to leave the Bay of Salamis during the night, had effected the prompt blockade of both

entrances; the Egyptian squadron was sent to guard the western approach, and the main body, drawn up in three divisions, extended in front of the eastern entrance from a point below Cynosura, in Salamis, to the Piræus. All night they kept guard, and when at daybreak no signs of flight appeared, but instead the pæans from the Grecian fleet showed that it was preparing for battle, the disappointed Persians at the eastern entrance streamed into the narrows from the open sea in a mighty host. From their station in the narrowest part of the passage the Greeks attacked them. The crowding of a great multitude of ships within a limited area soon brought confusion to the enemy; then the Greeks dashed into them from every side and completed the disorder and the rout. Xerxes surveyed the battle from a high throne on Mt. Ægaleos, and after the crushing defeat returned home to prevent an uprising in Ionia, leaving Mardonius in command of the army.

Below I give a translation of Timotheus's "Persians." Remnants of words in the first lines of the first column indicate that preparations are being made for a sea-fight. The translation begins at the fourth line of the mutilated second column. The ships are ramming one another, stripping off the oars of an enemy, or dodging an attack by backing water.

"For oars they put around their ships a toothed cornice* that jutted far out. The projecting beams at the prow with their curved heads swept away the pine oars of the enemy's ships. Now, whenever a prow-to-prow attack, powerful enough even to break the cross-beams, was suddenly threatened, all would boldly go against the foe; when, on the other hand, it was against the ship's side that a lightning-like blow was to be dealt, they would back water quickly with rapid strokes of the pine oars. Into the ships that had their parts torn off and scattered around so that they displayed their linen girths†—into these they drove their ram like a thunderbolt and overturned them, and they in turn plunged headforemost, robbed of their beauty by the iron head of the ram. Like a flash of lightning death-dealing Ares, in the form of javelins, was hurled from their hands and fell upon the bodies of the enemy, fell quivering from the rapid course through the air.

*Amer. Journal of Philology, 24, 226.

†See Amer. Journal of Philology, 24, 232.

They let fall on the opposing ships compact masses of murderous lead (the so-called 'dolphins'), and threw blazing balls of pitch on the end of rods that were used as ox-goads (fire-arrows). Many lives were sacrificed under the shower of winged arrows with heads of bronze that were shot from the tightly-drawn bowstring, and the sea with its emerald mane was made red in its furrows by the droppings of blood from the ships. On all sides there were mingled shouts and wailings.

"The barbarian fleet returned in disorder to the combat on the bosom of the sea, full of fishes and bordered with rocks like wings. Just then a man of the plain, the lord of lands that require a whole day's journey to traverse, was seen swimming, ploughing the watery plain with his feet and striking it with his hands, changed to an islander now, beaten by wind and wave, seeking out a way of escape."

(The remainder of Column II. is mutilated beyond repair. The Asiatic re-appears).

"When the winds left him, then the froth-covered liquid, but not the froth of Bacchus's feast, fell upon him and poured down his throat. When the sea water was thrown up and gushed forth from his mouth, with shrill voice and seemingly with maddened mind he threatened in extravagant terms the sea that was making havoc of his body, all the while gnashing at it with his teeth like a wild beast: 'Ere this, rash sea, thou hadst thy furious neck bound under the yoke, fettered with cables of flax (the pontoon-bridge over the Hellespont); but now my master, yes, mine, will rouse thee to frenzy with his mountain-grown pine oars, and with his roving glances will embrace and take captive these ship-traversing plains (the Bay of Salamis). O sea, hated of old, stung to madness by the gadfly, thou faithless minion of the breeze,* whose oncoming makes the waves dash over me.' Thus he spoke panting and exhausted, and vomited forth a foul discharge and with it sea water from the depths.

"In hasty flight the Persian fleet rushed back. In their passage through the long neck of the strait† the ships crashed into one another in a whirlpool of destruction, and out of the rowers' hands flew the mountain-sprung feet of the ship (the oars). In the collision the glistening bright teeth (the rowlocks) leaped

*Amer. Journal of Philology, 24, 234.

†Cf. Rev. d. Etud. grec. 16, 332 note.

forth from the mouth (the gunwale). Even as the heavens with stars, so the sea swarmed with bodies out of which the breath of life had gone, and the beach was loaded with the dead; while the living, sitting on the shores of the sea, stiff with cold from their nakedness and beating their breasts with cries and tears and loud wailing, gave themselves up to a dirge-like lament in their great grief and at the same time called upon their native land: 'O woodland glens of Mysia, save me from here whither we have been carried by the winds. Never now will the dust of earth receive my body, for my hand felt the touch of the hallowed cave (in the depths of the sea) where from of old the nymphs have been born. (Two lines lost). Take me far from here to where on Helle's Sea my master built a well-made bridge, a passage safe to yonder distant shore. But for this, I should not have left Tmolus nor the Lydian city, Sardis, and come here to drive back the Grecian god of war. As it is, where is one to find a sweet refuge from death, that is so hard to escape? She that comes to the Troad, the Mountain Mother (Cybele), alone can be my deliverer from these ills, and she would be if it were now possible for me to fall at my mistress's knees that are clad in a garment ornamented with dark leaves, and if I were now clasping the hands of her beautiful arms. Save me, golden-haired Goddess, O Mother, I beseech thee, save my life from dangers difficult to escape, for in a moment some one here will take away my life with his sword skilled in murder, or else the winds that wreck ships, that dissolve the waves into mist will destroy me with the help of the north wind that grows frosty in the night. The wild waves round about me have broken down all the tissues that give form to my members. Therefore I shall lie here a pitiable object, a feast for the tribes of carrion birds.'

"Such lamentations they uttered with tears. Whenever a Greek warrior, sword in hand, led captive a disabled inhabitant of Celænæ, rich in pasture-land, he would drag him off by his long hair, while his victim would embrace his knees, and breaking silence with a penetrating cry* beseech him in a mixture of Greek and Asiatic speech, as he strove to employ the Ionic tongue: 'I—we have nothing against each other. How should we? And what quarrel should we have?† Never will I come here again.

**Amer. Journal of Philology*, 24, 235.

†*Amer. Journal of Philology*, 24, 236.

This time it was my master that brought me here to this place, but in the future never, father, never will I come here again to fight, but I will settle down, not here, no, I live there in Sardia, or in Susa, or in Ecbatana. Artemis, my great god there in Ephesus, will protect me.'

"When the Persians quickened their retreat and flight, they at once threw from their hands their double-pointed javelins, tore their faces with their nails, rent their well-woven Persian garments around their breasts, and uttered together a shrill Asiatic lament. Throughout the whole company assembled around the king there resounded groans of fear when they looked forward to the suffering in store for them. When the king beheld his army retreating in confusion, he fell on his knees, disfigured his body and, storm-tossed by misfortunes, exclaimed: 'Oh, wreck and ruin of my home! Oh, destructive Grecian ships, you brought death to so many young men in the prime of life! Our ships will not take them back, but the blazing fire in its might will devour them with its fierce flame, and there will be griefs and groans for Persia. Oh, the grievous misfortune that brought me to Greece! But come, delay no longer, some of you yoke the four-horse chariot, let others heap our untold treasures upon the wagons, but burn the tents—let the enemy not reap any benefit from our wealth.'

"Having set up a trophy, Zeus's most sacred shrine, the Greeks sang a song of triumph in honor of lord Apollo, the averter of ill, and in harmony with it was the clatter of their feet as they danced their lively dance.

"O patron of the new-fashioned music of the golden lyre, Apollo, the averter of ill, come to the aid of my songs, for the people, the great ruler of Sparta, born of a long line of noble ancestors, yet blossoming forth in the luxuriance of their young manhood, violently agitate me and pursue me with burning censure, because I slight the ancient muse for the sake of new songs. I, however, exclude from these songs neither young man nor old nor one of my own age, but it is the bunglers of the old art that I debar, for they mar songs just as heralds strain their voices by shouting in shrill tones to a great distance.

"First of all Orpheus, the son of Calliope, invented the many-stringed lyre in Pieria. After him Terpander strung it with ten chords, Terpander whom Æolic Lesbos brought forth to be the

glory of Antissa. And now Timotheus brings to light a lyre adapted to metres and rhythms of eleven notes, having opened a rich treasure-house of song, that had been hidden away by the muses. Miletus is the city that nurtured him, a city belonging to the League of Twelve Cities which were the foremost among the colonies from Achæa.

"O far-darting Pythian Apollo, come to this sacred city with good fortune, bringing to this people peace that prospers by reason of good laws, so that they may escape all harm."

Read Æschylus's description of the battle of Salamis by the side of this. Æschylus, the warrior-poet, took part in the battle, and less than eight years afterward gave a thrilling account of it in his historical drama, the "Persians." He does not make simply general statements like Ephorus (in Diodorus), nor does he, like Herodotus, fill up his account with incidents concerning individuals, such as the story about Artemisia, but with a clear vision of the whole he brings out distinctly the salient features of the battle and exhibits them in high relief. See the pictures that he evokes: the Greeks advance chanting the pæan in unison; a Greek strikes a Phœnician ship, then a general mêlée; confusion of the Persian host in the narrows; flight of the Persians, wrecks and corpses everywhere. Timotheus, on the other hand, had not seen the battle and had no very definite idea as to how it was carried on. Yet in order to give us the impression that he is acquainted with the facts, he adds a number of details about rams, front and side attacks, javelins, fire-arrows, and bronze-headed arrows, that would suit any other naval battle as well as this one, and some perhaps better. He lets his imagination play only to the extent of introducing four speakers, the rich Asiatic, the captive Cælenite, the king, and the shipwrecked crew on the beach. Finally, he makes the victors raise the usual trophy. There is no mention of Xerxes, of Themistocles, of Athens, or even of Salamis: few proper names occur. The poem has only a slight basis of historic truth; Timotheus describes not the particular, but the typical sea-fight. Since the improved engines of war and naval tactics here described were not introduced until the Peloponnesian war, it is a type of the naval battle of his own time that he gives, such a one as his hearers had frequently witnessed and taken part in.

To write about Salamis without eulogizing Athens is indeed

strange. A citizen of Miletus, as Timotheus was, would not have dared to do this before the revolt of Miletus from Athens in 412, though it is more likely that he did not write it until after Athens's complete subjugation in 404 B. C. Miletus had been turned over to the Great King by the Spartans under the Treaty of Miletus, and was now under Persian rule. It is for this reason that Timotheus treats the barbarians and their king with so much respect. Athens, now humbled, is ignored in the poem, and Sparta, her victorious rival, is praised as "blossoming forth in the luxuriance of her young manhood." In view of these and other considerations, Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff thinks that its date of composition was some time between 398 and 396 B. C., and that it was at the great national festival of the Ionians, the Panionia, celebrated in honor of Poseidon at his sanctuary on Mt. Mycale near Miletus, that Timotheus first sang his "Persians," dressed in the ancient costume of the cithara-player, with a crown upon his head.

The dialect of the "Persians" is mainly Attic, the few Ionianisms being perhaps unconsciously employed. The language has the bombast and turgidity of the dithyramb; it is remarkable for its many extraordinary compound words, not found in the dictionary, and for the long parade of bold metaphors. On the side of syntax, the eternal repetition of "and," Timotheus's chief and almost his only connective between clauses, gives a monotonous ring to his diction. His short simple sentences, connected by the inevitable "and," make his style a good example of the "loose" style, also called the "strung-on" or "rosary" style, which, Aristotle says, characterizes the preludes in the dithyrambs.

"Of the various kinds of words," says Aristotle, "the compounds are best adapted to dithyrambs, for these are full of pompous, high-sounding phrases," and Demetrius gives as examples of dithyrambic compounds "*heaven-prodigied wanderings*" and "*the fiery-speared battalions of the stars.*" Not only double but triple compounds occur in the "Persians," e. g., "*emerald-maned,*" "*fish-enwreathed,*" "*shrill-speaking,*" "*gadfly-mad,*" "*tree-bristling,*" "*clad-in-a-garment-embroidered-with-dark-leaves,*" "*wave-dissolving,*" "*old-art-bunglers.*" On account of such extravagant formations Aristophanes made sport of the dithyrambists in his "Clouds" and "Birds."

Closely allied to the compounds and equally striking are the

metaphors of Timotheus. In the "Persians" oars are either the ship's "hands" or "feet," they are never called simply oars; the stomach is the "nourishing vessel," and sea water is the "frothy rain." Sometimes they are veritable enigmas: "the death-dealing God of War that was hurled like fire from their hands and fell upon the bodies of the enemy, quivering from his rapid course through the air," proves to be the javelins; the key is given in the word meaning "furnished with a javelin strap" which modifies "God of War." And there are other riddles of the same sort. Anaxandrides, the comic poet, ridiculed Timotheus by name for this.

Verbosity is another stylistic peculiarity. Take in illustration an extreme case: "beating their breasts with cries and tears and loud wailing they gave themselves up to a dirge-like lament in their great grief." Every word in this passage in the original, except the conjunctions and the verb, expresses in one form or another the grief of the shipwrecked Persians on the beach.

The music of the "Persians" unfortunately has not survived. This is the more to be regretted as singing played so important a part in the rendition of the nome. Apart from the melody to which the words were sung, Timotheus, who was singer as well as poet, kept in mind the musical effect of the words as he composed them, and gave to his verses a certain sonorousness by his choice of words and by their position in the sentence. A variety of measures is employed, but iambs predominate.

Epic in its opening verse and in the narrative of heroic deeds, and lyric in that it was accompanied by the lyre, the poem of Timotheus has also its dramatic parts, notably the tragic lament of the king amidst his "tempest of misfortunes," and, by contrast, the comic scene in which the captive Phrygian, dragged off by his hair, begs for mercy in broken Greek, using "bringed" for "brought," "set" for "sit," "god" for "goddess," and "by Sardis" for "in Sardis." "Ibis-like," says Professor Gildersleeve, "Timotheus has swallowed and digested all the departments of Greek poetry, epic, lyric, dramatic." The chief value of the discovery at Abusir is that it shows us the nome. "Two hundred and fifty verses of Timotheus," says the editor of the poem, "are not worth two hundred and fifty new verses of Sophocles, but they teach us more."

Maryland in the Revolution

BY BERNARD C. STEINER, PH. D.,

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No State stands forth more conspicuously in merit throughout the American revolution than Maryland, whether we look at the devotion of her citizens, the bravery of her soldiers, or the caution and wisdom of her statesmen and politicians. The men who fought under Smallwood, Gist, Williams, and Howard and the men who at home planned and hoped with Jenifer, Johnson, Chase, Paca, and the Carrolls were worthy of our recollection and our respect. Maryland had little direct grievance against England, and her planters had many ties to bind them to the mother country. It was true in the far western part of the province that the Frederick county German farmers who detected Connolly's plot cared little for any connection with Great Britain, and in that growing commercial town, Baltimore on the Patapsco near the head of the Chesapeake, there was an eager spirit of independence. But along the shores of the tidal estuaries which stretch far into the land the planters found little to make them long for a separation. It was true the Lord Proprietary was an absentee landlord, but his relative who represented him in the province was the popular governor, Captain Robert Eden, who was so well beloved in the province that in May, 1776, the convention asked him to "continue in the province in his station," provided he promised to take no "active hostile part nor to correspond directly or indirectly with administration, or those who may be carrying on hostilities in America." Had other colonies possessed governors who understood so well the temper of the people, the result might have been different, for Eden with all his understanding of his province was so true to his king that four months later he was created the first Baronet of Maryland, because of the "king's entire approbation of his conduct." The province was a conservative one and only reluctantly on June 28, 1776, authorized their representatives in the Continental Congress to agree to a declaration of independence. But withal, the spirit of the people was true to their sister colonies. Chase

had gone through the province like a "flame of fire." The judicious Paca, the learned barrister Carroll, the sagacious Jenifer all united in the sentiment "that the people of Maryland, though the last on the continent to declare independence will go as far as any colony towards the general defense of the United States." Over a year before this Price's and Cresap's companies of frontiersmen armed with tomahawks and rifles and attired in hunting shirts and moccasins had been the first soldiers from the country south of Mason and Dixon's line to reach the army that beleaguered Boston, and from that time to the end of the struggle the Maryland troops, whether they were of the militia, the Flying Camp, or the famous line, did valiantly. To no other State was it given to have troops in every campaign of the whole struggle. From an early period to the end, the State adopted a wise policy as to enlistments, so that while her rolls do not show as many troops in number as do those of some other States, the record of their service yields to none in efficiency and splendor. The gaily dressed Maryland Macaronis saved the army's retreat at the battle of Long Island, while they were slaughtered so that from Washington was wrung the agonized cry "My God; what brave men must I this day lose!" At Guilford Court House, the Maryland line stood like adamant and saved the day, when the Carolinians broke and fled. There were few Maryland soldiers who had so short terms of service as some of those of New England, where my own Connecticut ancestor, Timothy Seward, was called eight times and served in all, seven months and eighteen days. The Maryland policy was rather to enlist for "three years or the war" and with a greater wisdom than our federal government showed in the civil war she filled up her old regiments when more soldiers were needed rather than raised new regiments. It was my honor and pleasure to edit for publication in the Maryland Archives last year, a volume entitled "the Muster Rolls and other records of service of Maryland troops in the American Revolution" and nothing impressed me more in the prosecution of that task than the cheerful way in which Maryland bore her share and even more than her share of the warfare. On the first day of January, 1776, the Convention of the Freemen "Resolved that this Province be immediately put in the best state of defense" and that a "sufficient armed force be immediately

raised and embodied under proper officers for the defence and protection of this province." The council of safety was empowered to use these troops not only for the defence of Maryland, but also, for that of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. These soldiers were comprised of a battalion of nine companies, stationed at Annapolis and Baltimore, seven independent companies stationed in the counties along the Chesapeake, two companies of matrosses for use as artillery, and a company of marines. Already the province possessed the nucleus of a navy for the protection of the bay in the ship "Defence" under Captain Nicholson who repelled the British ship "Otter" in March, 1776, and to this were later added the schooner "Dolphin," the sloop "Molly" and the "Perseus." Of the States naval leaders Captain Joshua Harvey is the best known.

In June, 1776, the Continental Congress requested Maryland to furnish 3400 militiamen to serve from Maryland to New York, or, throughout the middle department, with other militiamen from Delaware and Pennsylvania for six months, as a part of a Flying Camp of 10,000 men. It may interest those who have read recent historical novels to know that Captain David Clapsaddle commanded one of the companies of the Flying Camp and that his company lost thirty-one "Tommeheocks" among other property in their retreat from Fort Lee. While these militiamen did nobly it was felt that regulars were needed, and so in September the Continental Congress "resolved that eighty-eight battalions be entitled as soon as possible to serve during the present war" and that Maryland furnish eight battalions. The next month the convention of Maryland voted in words of noble patriotism, that, though eight battalions "exceeds its just quota" this State, desirous of exerting the most strenuous efforts to support the liberties and independence of the United States, will therefore use its utmost endeavors to raise the eight battalions required (including the troops already raised and in the service of the United States) as soon as possible. These eight battalions became the famous Maryland line the first contingent completed from any State. It was composed of seven regiments of infantry, Rawling's regiment of riflemen and half of the German regiment, the other half of which was raised in Pennsylvania. All of these men were not heroes and we find against the names

of a few the damning words as "great rascal" or, "deserted to the enemy," but take them all in all they were fully equal to any part of the continental forces.

When there was a sudden need for men, Maryland was ready and sent promptly the minute-men of the Eastern Shore down into Accomac County, Virginia, in January, 1776. In the distressful weeks with which that year closed the Council of Safety of Maryland speedily complied with the urgent request of the Continental Congress to forward without delay for the defence of Philadelphia and the reinforcement of Washington's army as many troops as possible from the northern counties of the State. In the next year, an alarm kept the "weakest Maryland battalion" in the continental service on guard in Maryland for a while in April and May, but in August the State acceded to the call of congress for 2000 select militia to repel the expected invasion and to serve in the continental forces for three months. These troops were present at Paoli and Germantown, where their steadfastness was marked.

The State was prompt to fill the gaps left in the regular regiments by war and disease, and when enlistments grew slack willingly offered bounties. In 1777 an enlistment of 2000 men was ordered and in 1778 one of nearly 3000 more. In this last number "no British pensioner or deserted, nor any convict until his original term of service is expired shall be enlisted" but, on the other hand, "every idle person above eighteen years of age who is able-bodied and hath no fixed habitation nor family nor any visible method of getting an honest livelihood shall be considered a soldier enlisted and have it in his choice whether he will serve for nine months or enlist for three years or during the war." With this a draft was ordered, for the assembly felt it was "the indispensable duty of this State to adopt the most effectual means to attain" the end of bringing "a powerful army into the field the ensuing campaign." Maryland gladly used "the most vigorous exertions" which congress represented as "absolutely necessary" and in 1779 voted to raise 1400 additional men. In 1780, the assembly was so convinced of the greater usefulness of regular troops that it proposed to Washington to raise a regiment of over 500 men in lieu of the militia required. When this offer was accepted the assembly raised the new regiment at once, but did

not relax efforts towards filling up the old regiments though an "exorbitant bounty" was sometimes found necessary," especially after the Virginians began to give such extravagant bounties for men to serve only eighteen months." In 1780 100 marines and a "proper number of brave, experienced, and able seamen" were recruited to man "four barges or rowboats capable of carrying swivels," the "Intrepid," "Terrible," "Fearnought" and "Misfortune," one galley, and one schooner, the "Flying Fish."

While the State was zealous in the common service, she was no less thoughtful of her soldiers and as early as October, 1778, passed an act for the relief of disabled and maimed officers, soldiers, marines and seamen, whereby there was provided a pension system under which those so disabled in the service of the United States as to be incapable of getting a livelihood should receive during life or the continuance of the disability, half their monthly pay. Those who suffered from a disability which prevented further service as soldiers or sailors, but were not totally disabled, should receive such sum as the Orphans' Court of their country might allow them, provided it be not more than half pay. Two years later a second act was passed by which the proceeds of certain confiscated manors were appropriated for the payment of the amounts due the troops of Maryland, from the United States, with which engagements the Continental Congress had not complied. In later years large tracts of land in the extreme west of the State were given to the former soldiers.

In October, 1780, congress recommended that the States reduce the numbers of their regiments and assigned five regiments to Maryland. The Maryland line was readjusted to these new conditions at once, and stringent measures were passed to fill up the companies and to punish severely all deserters. In May, of the next year, when Cornwallis marched northward, congress recommended Maryland to raise for three months service two battalions or regiments of militia, to serve as infantry and a troop of cavalry since "the British king, regardless of the rights of mankind and of the United States in particular, continues the ravages of war with relentless fury and the deficiency of the continental regular lines makes it absolutely necessary to call forth a respectable body of militia till those lines be completed." Nearly 1400 men were raised in these two battalions of select

militia, but they were enlisted to served for six months, or double the time asked. Voluntary enlistinents were not sufficient. A "draught" was resorted to and some of the drafted men who "have run" were sent "forward to as soon as we can catch them."

The danger was soon over with the surrender of Yorktown, but until the treaty of peace be ratified an army must be kept in the field and the Maryland line although with diminished numbers and with many of its officers "deranged" was not disbanded until November 15, 1783.

So generous was Maryland in her patriotic service, that she lent in 1777 to the continental forces the three companies of artillery she raised for her own defence the year before. The loan became a permanent one and the companies continued in the federal service until 1783.

Not alone in the commands credited to the State's quota were Maryland men found. In the "Partisan Cavalry" commanded by "Light Horse Harry Lee," in Pulaski's Legion and in the independent corps of Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, were there Maryland recruits. Other companies of Marylanders were found in Hazen's cavalry, Spencer's additional regiment, Moylan's horse, Baylor's horse, Broaheads' and Pattens' Pennsylvanians, Foreman's Jersey troops, the invalid corps, Hartley's and Grayson's regiments, and Gist's rangers. In all, the assembly calculated that there were over thirty such companies. Besides these there were a number of Maryland men in that picked company the "Commander in Chief's guard," to which Washington committed the care of his "baggage, papers, and other matters of great public import."

We have touched on but one side of Maryland's service to the common cause and can only allude to her firm refusal to come into the confederation until the possession of the territory northwest of the Ohio river was assured as the common heritage of the nation, or, to the services of her representatives in the halls of congress. In battle the achievements of Maryland are far too glorious to be forgotten. Their leaders were men like John Eager Howard, of whom Nathaniel Green said, "He is as good an officer as the world affords and deserves a statue of gold no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes." Inspired by such leaders and trained by the German drill master, De Kalb, we find

that it was the Maryland line that carried the British intrenchments on Harlem Heights at the point of the bayonet, which covered the retreat at White Plains, and which saved the army at Monmouth. When Gen. Charles Lee retreated, Washington turned to Colonel Ramsay, of the Maryland line, to hold the British army. "We will check them" was the quick reply, and with desperate obstinacy they did so. At Camden Gist's Marylanders prevented an utter dispersion of the continental army. At Cowpens Howard's troops decided the day by their skillful movements and their commander held at one moment the swords of seven British officers who had surrendered to him. The retreat of Greene across the Carolinas was covered by the Maryland men under Otho Holland Williams. It mattered not whether in a charge or resisting an attack, or marching now through pine barrens, in advance or retreat, the men were dauntless. When Greene had his army again in condition to attack, the record of the Maryland soldiers was made still more glorious by their conduct at Ninety-Six and at Eutaw Springs. The praise Greene gave them in this last battle may well be their motto, "Nothing could exceed the gallantry of the Maryland line."

The Educational Significance of Modern Language Study in the Secondary School.

BY JOHN CHRISTIAN RANSMEIER, PH. D.,

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In a recent article, published in the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, the present writer discussed the practical value of modern language study, that is, those indirect advantages that are likely to arise from a successful prosecution of these branches. But let us not forget for one moment that there is nothing so practical, so useful in any proper sense of the word as that which enlarges, strengthens and beautifies the mind and character of the student. The direct educational value of these disciplines supplies us, therefore, with the supreme argument for their presence in our secondary curricula, and for a protracted and thorough-going instruction in them. In a word they are to be cultivated primarily because they contribute so largely to a harmonious and complete development of the mental and moral life of man. Professor Ladd well says, "The general dependence of both spoken and written language upon the development of human faculty so called, and the important part which language itself plays in this development, are beyond doubt. But language is not the product of any one faculty; nor is it a divine gift or a discovery which appeals to one faculty alone. So far as its origin and development can be explained, they are dependent upon the combined and harmonious action and evolution of various forms of mental life. In fine, it is scarcely too much to say that human language is the product of the entire manhood of man; and that, conversely, the assertion, preservation, and development of his *human* nature is largely involved in the use and growth of language."^{*} That modern language study may claim just this universal significance I shall endeavor to set forth in this article. But not only does it provide a discipline truly universal in its scope, it also serves every purpose of a discipline of rigor. It may be made quite as exacting as mathematics or the classics. To be sure, if we are to

^{*}George Trumbull Ladd: *Psychology, Descriptive and Experimental*, p. 458.

get out of it what it is really capable of yielding, the subject must have prolonged and serious attention. In the hope that some slight contribution may be made toward bringing about just such an improvement in the present manner of dealing with modern language study in Southern secondary schools, this article has been written.

At the outset let me say that I am not in the least endeavoring to diminish any proper esteem for the classical languages and literatures. I desire nothing more than an equal treatment for French and German, and a fair field for instruction in them—instruction, however, in every way equal to that given to any other subject in the secondary curriculum. Any argument for the superior productivity of modern language, over classical, study, or *vice versa*, is, in my opinion, to say the least profitless. Both the classical and the modern languages are essential components of a first-class secondary curriculum and must be earnestly cultivated, if the course of study is not to be inadequate and fragmentary. Both teachers of the classical and of the modern languages should recognize that these branches are all indispensable, that they mutually supplement each other in the general scheme of education, and contribute together to a common end in which all of us, and teachers of English as well, are vitally concerned. Let us consider now certain methods in common use in modern language instruction and the profit resulting from their employment. Let us study, too, the conditions that govern this branch of teaching, and the part they play in rendering it profitable.

Although a final reading without translation is contemplated, modern language teachers, nevertheless, in common with instructors in the classics, spend much time in translation. Now, if we consider carefully, we shall find this a very valuable exercise. It is hard to conceive a better test of the student's power accurately to enter into the thought of another. The teacher by comparing closely the original version and the translation can discern if the translator has skill in two very important respects, namely, in entering precisely into the thought of a second person, and, again, in hewing to the line in rendering this thought into his own vernacular. Clear speaking—and clear oral translation is a variety of clear speaking—pre-supposes clear thinking. The power to

think and to speak truly and clearly is, therefore, greatly enhanced by an intelligent insistence on an adequate and idiomatic rendering, supplemented, of course, by models of such translation produced by the instructor himself. At this point let me say that in providing profitable opportunity for translation, the modern languages are in certain respects superior to the classics. We must remember that Greek and Latin are very foreign to the student of today. Besides the foreignness of place there is in addition a foreignness of time. While it is possible to render into French and German practically any thought that can be phrased in English, and *vice versa*, the thought presented in the ancient languages is often totally different from anything in the experience of our students, or indeed, of any person now living. Set a pupil a passage in Latin in which military operations are described, such a passage as he will encounter early in his preparatory course. He is likely to hear of the *ballista*, the *testudo*, the *vinea*, the *turris ambulatoria*, the *pilum*, the *jaculum*, and a host of implements and munitions which are not in existence at this time, and have left behind them scarcely so much as a name. Contrast this with an account of a French or German commander who employs cannon, muskets, carbines, bayonets, swords, sabres, shot, shell, gunpowder, or, in the more complicated warfare of the immediate present, disappearing cannon, rapid-fire guns, repeating rifles, dynamite, lyddite, gun-cotton, the heliograph, the wireless telegraph, or any other of the common accessories of making war. Every boy brings to school some knowledge of these things. He hears old soldiers discussing them. He asks his father hundreds of questions about them, and interrogates older friends who may be members of the national guard. The magazines and the daily papers bring pictures and descriptions. He is likely to see them with his own eyes at encampments and in fortifications, museums, and expositions, and may even witness a demonstration of the use of many of them. Latin expressions like those I have named he is likely to render by stereotyped words or phrases which, without great effort on the part of a skillful and devoted teacher, will convey little or no meaning to him. This is certainly a great barrier in the way of the clear thinking we prize so highly.

This foreignness extends in a very considerable degree to the political, social, learned, religious, and, indeed, to all other

spheres of activity and thought. For example, it is only with difficulty that the classical instructor will succeed in securing a measurably adequate understanding of such terms as *tribunus*, *municipium*, *tribus*, *gens*, *pontifex*, *augur*, *haruspex*, *Lares* and *Penates*, *grammaticus*, *pædagogus*, and their vital significance in Roman life. The whole apperception mass of the young student is decidedly more favorable to the assimilation of the French and German store of ideas, and just to that extent the power to think can be more profitably exercised by translation from these languages. In a word the study of the classics sometimes seems to me a little like listening at great expense to a friend over a long-distance telephone, while that of a modern language has more of the face-to-face character of attending to what your friend has to say to you in your own house. Now this very remoteness accounts in no small degree for the fact that nothing like so much ground can be covered in a Latin or a Greek class as in one of corresponding advancement in French or German. We have the advantage that the student is brought into contact with a greater store of ideas, and has, therefore, a more abundant opportunity to exercise himself in translation, the advantage of greater "pace," to use a term coined by Professor Babbitt.*

It is certainly not sufficiently recognized that modern language study provides an excellent discipline in accurate observation and, indeed, in all the processes of the reasoning faculty. I doubt if mathematics will yield better results than work in these branches properly directed and pursued. Consider that the presence of a single letter, the fact that a given letter, syllable or word comes before or after another letter, syllable or word may fundamentally alter the meaning of a sentence and of a passage. Let me illustrate this from the German. In the reader used by my beginners during the current year, the phrase *ein lustiges Völkchen* is used to characterize the elves. One of the students read this as if it were *ein luftiges Völkchen* a rendering which would involve nothing more than the addition of a line, hardly thicker than a hair and perhaps one-sixty-fourth of an inch in length. Slight as the change seems, it is sufficient to convert the elves

* E. H. Babbitt: *How to Use Modern Languages as a Means of Mental Discipline*, p. 135 in *Methods of Teaching Modern Languages*.

from a merry little people to an airy little people. The context in this passage would hardly have helped the reader, it was necessary to note the minute difference between the German *s* and *f*. Again, one of the girls in the scene "Before the Gate" in Goethe's "Faust" speaks of a youth as a "Krauskopf." This was translated by a student in my hearing as though it were spelled "Krautkopf," and thus a curly-head was changed by the necromancy of a blunder into a "cabbage-head," a very momentous change, as any young man would admit, and entirely due to a failure to note the one distinguishing letter. Only lately one of my students in translating a passage from Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit" misread the adjective "wohlbeleibt," which was used to describe the genial interpreter, as though it had been spelled "wohlbeliebt," and, presto! change! he had instead of a portly interpreter, one well-beloved. The context in this passage, too, offered no help. The whole blunder resulted from slipping a single letter in the word one place ahead.

It is perfectly clear if we think a moment that the student must constantly make a large number of fine discriminations, must learn to attend to a multitude of things at once. How much must be the information he needs to have ready at hand and what distinctions must he make to locate a single form of a strong verb in German. Think of the multitude of irregular forms in the commonest verbs, of the room for variation within any one verb; for the German language has a rich conjugational system. Bear in mind the various and elusive uses of the modal auxiliaries. Note the manifold inflections of adjectives, nouns and pronouns. Then add the fundamentally important and often baffling uses of the particles. Functions of prefixes and suffixes, and the whole process of compounding call for constant analysis and synthesis. Frequent idioms demand that the student reason them out, so far as this is possible to him, if he would hold them effectively in memory. A single word may have a multitude of significations requiring many different words for an adequate rendering into English, generally growing logically enough out of the radical value, but really beyond remembering, if the reason of the student is not brought to bear upon them. Take, for example, the German word "Zug," the basal notion of which is that of drawing, and so a thing that draws or is drawn. Whitney's German dictionary,

a work of small compass, gives the following equivalents: drawing, pull, tug; *fig*, impulsive emotion, propensity towards an object, tendency, bent, bias; drawing in, draft, draught (of air, of water or other drink, of fish in a net, etc.), breath, gasp; something drawn, line, stroke, rifle; lineament, feature, trait: moving forward, progress, march, course, advance; procession, train, caravan; expedition, migration; move (at chess, etc.); flight, flight of birds, flock: what draws, team, yoke, span; pedal (of a piano), register (of an organ). In addition to these various meanings, there are recorded more than fifty compoundings and idiomatic phrase usages. An examination of such a word with an intelligent exercise of the reason, will yield fruit an hundred-fold, while an attempt to rely upon arbitrary memory will inevitably meet with failure. Synonyms, too, need to be constantly discriminated, and varying shades of thought must be rendered into English in such a way as to lose as little as possible of the original. French, of course, uses the same alphabet as English, and its declensional system is decidedly simpler. Otherwise, translation from the former into the latter contributes in much the same way to discipline in logically consecutive thinking.

The student begins by making his observations, discriminations and generalizations with painful consciousness, but in time he learns to make them with such rapidity that they seem almost to occur automatically. This power to find one's way through a great mass of details, to seize upon the significant fact instantly and accurately, and not to suffer bewilderment implies power of a very valuable sort. To be sure, a certain portion of this information can be gained in a mechanical fashion by the mere exercise of arbitrary memory, but such a use of memory will carry one only a very short way. The location of a form in a paradigm is sometimes this sort of effort. But the determination of a case or of a tense, may, and frequently does, require accurate reasoning from significant data that need to be apprehended, from a context that demands interpretation in such a way as to show what is the reasonable thing to expect. The very simplification of paradigms which has occurred in the development of the modern languages tends to require a greater degree of reasoning from the context, that is to say of carrying the meaning from phrase to phrase, from clause to clause, and from sentence to sentence, which itself involves a steady process of inductive reasoning.

Although in the production of a good translation, there is some measure of deductive reasoning, readily enough reducible to the syllogistic form, the thought is in a very large measure based on inductive processes. If a seemingly sufficient number of indications point to a given rendering, we accept it, even though we have not absolutely demonstrated that this conclusion, and no other, is the correct one, and we then proceed to test it by the way in which it harmonizes with the course of thought in the passage taken as a whole. Just at this point the contribution that modern language study makes towards the development of the reasoning power of the student differs from that of the mathematics of the secondary course. This branch, always on condition that it is properly taught, is rightly esteemed as a discipline in deductive reasoning. It proceeds by the method of absolute proof. If the first and the second are true, then the third follows as a necessary consequence. The chief value of such training as a preparation for life is not, however, as is often supposed, in its teaching the application of a method of reasoning, but rather in its rigorous insistence upon close scrutiny and accuracy of process. The prime advantage possessed by the elementary mathematics is that the test for accuracy is so easily applied, that it is of the essence of the discipline to exact in a unique way accuracy of process. A single error, however slight, vitiates the entire solution. No one will venture to deny that such training is of eminent value. But let us not forget for a moment that the method of complete demonstration finds but a narrow application in the life-affairs of any one of us. From day to day we govern ourselves in accordance with the predominance of evidence; this influences us to decision and shapes our destinies. President Eliot well says: "Arithmetic is the subject mainly relied on in the American school course for the training of what is called the reasoning power.....It is, however, a very peculiar kind of reasoning which is used in mathematics, a kind we seldom use in the actual world, and which is of no use whatever in the moral sciences. The mathematics deal with certainties and demonstrations—things with which common life has very little to do."* Just the sort of reasoning, "probable reasoning," as Professor

*Charles W. Eliot: Educational Reform.

Addresses, p. 186.

Ladd calls it, which is used in the moral sciences and in actual life is prevailingly employed in modern language study.

In a very real sense, therefore, the right sort of translation is a continuous work of close and accurate thinking. Though this reasoning is not characterized by perfect theoretical accuracy, it is, nevertheless, precise in its kind. I am sure we can find no better way to cultivate the exactness that Ruskin so highly praises in a passage in "Sesame and Lilies" than by liberal and exact translation from French and German literature. He says: "And, therefore, first of all, I tell you, earnestly and authoritatively (I *know* I am right in this,) you must get in the habit of looking intensely at words, and assuring yourself of their meaning, syllable by syllable, nay letter by letter. For though it is only by reason of the opposition of letters in the function of signs, to sounds in function of signs, that the study of books is called 'literature,' and that a man versed in it is called, by the consent of nations, a man of letters instead of a man of books, or of words, you may yet connect with that accidental nomenclature this real principle;—that you might read all the books in the British museum (if you could live long enough), and remain an utterly 'illiterate', uneducated person; but that if you read ten pages of a good book, letter by letter,—that is to say, with real accuracy—you are for evermore in some measure an educated person. The entire difference between education and non-education (as regards the purely intellectual part of it), consists in this accuracy."

It is worth remembering, too, that the very acquisition of new words and the sharper definition of those already acquired, which result from good translation, are useful in promoting subsequent thought, for thinking is in a notable degree dependent upon vocabulary. Indeed highly developed and complex thought is simply impossible without a rich possession of language. In so far as accurate translation improves the vocabulary in the ways that have been indicated, it stores the mind with clearly defined conceptions, and the conception is, as Professor Ladd tells us, "the product, the sign, the conveyor, the starter, and the guide of thought." The student who translates with precision becomes, therefore, forevermore a better thinker by virtue of his new conquest over words, the visible and audible signs of conceptions.

But what has been said of the value of translation as a training in reasoning is by no means the whole story. Every well-conducted class in the modern languages should give liberal attention to sight translation, which is an exercise of supreme value. I can conceive of no keener delight for the skillful teacher than is to be found in educating from a class of intelligent and alert pupils the very utmost they can accomplish in such translation. It requires of the student an instantaneous application of past accumulations of knowledge and power to difficulties frequently never seen under just those conditions before. Just here we find an excellent opportunity for the use and discipline of the constructive imagination, which finds so wide a scope in all translation, and, indeed, in modern language study in general. The student learns better to trust his memory for instant service in unforeseen difficulties—a very important lesson. He overcomes more and more the embarrassment that arises from grappling with fresh difficulties in the presence of witnesses, as he learns better and better how to reason under pressure. The extreme of concentration is exacted, and his interest is vigorously stimulated, for he feels more and more that he is doing something greatly worth while. Withal, the learner discovers powers in himself of which he has never dreamed before, and comes mightily under the strange and subtle spell of a foreign language.

Good translation, of whatever sort, provides an excellent discipline in the clear, forceful and elegant use of the mother-tongue, which is, I believe, the most distinguished accomplishment a cultivated man can possess, and one quite indispensable in the fine art of conversation. Translation from the classics was in England long the only formal training in the use of the English language provided by schools and colleges. Many of those whom we recognize as masters in English literature had no other academic discipline in the use of the vernacular. It is surely the duty of all teachers—and particularly the duty of modern language instructors, because they have so abundant an opportunity—to coöperate with teachers of English in developing a better command of our native tongue. We can insist upon order, precision and neatness in all exercises—that students diligently seek the right way. Pupils preoccupied with constructional difficulties are frequently caught unawares and consequently

express themselves in habitual loose and slovenly speech, which they would nevertheless avoid in an English class. At such times we have an opportunity to point out effectively what is correct and to impress upon the student how unfortunate is the mutilation of our native language, and how praiseworthy is its elegant and idiomatic use. With the enlargement of the store of ideas that results from the translation of significant literature, comes *pari passu* a richer and more expressive vocabulary. Synonyms are discriminated in a way never previously attempted, shadings of meaning appear of which the student was never before cognizant. New idioms must be mastered in order that idiomatic expressions in other literatures may be precisely rendered. Old words, long loosely and often inaccurately used, must be closely scrutinized and their meanings better understood if foreign authors are to be adequately translated. Then, too, there is no other way to accomplish sound instruction in what Ruskin calls the "peerage of words"—that knowledge of their "ancestry, inter-marriages, distantest relationships" which he tells us in "Sesame and Lilies" is necessary to every cultivated man—than by a diligent study of foreign languages. Any person who is going to understand English in this way must study French and German. Good translation will aid him in discerning many of these relationships. Moreover, style must translate style, otherwise the translation is a spurious one. In view of these facts, it is certainly clear that translation from French and German into English must, if well done, be of the greatest advantage in cultivating the elegant and effective use of the mother-tongue. Lowell well says in discussing the relation of translation to the development of skill in the use of English: "In reading such books as chiefly deserve to be read in any foreign language, it is wise to translate consciously and in words as we read. There is no such help to a fuller mastery of our vernacular. It compels us to such a choosing and testing, to so nice a discrimination of sound, propriety, position, and shade of meaning, that we now first learn the secret of the words we have been using or misusing all our lives and are gradually made aware that to set forth even the plainest matter as it should be set forth is not only a very difficult thing calling for thought and practice, but an affair of conscience as well. Translating teaches us as

nothing else can, not only that there is a best way, but that it is the only way."²

A second useful means of discipline is found in composition, which has always been in favor with those instructors who especially esteem severe tasks, thinking that these have a greatly superior disciplinary value. French and German composition will assuredly be found exacting enough to satisfy the most strenuously minded, for really worthy achievement along this line, no matter what the language, is a task of enormous difficulty. All the varieties of difficulty that trouble teachers of English composition, who are laboring under a burden that strains their every nerve, perplex the intelligent and devoted teacher of French and German composition, and more; for assuredly the native pupil brings to his class a considerable possession of linguistic knowledge. We cannot hope, therefore, to accomplish anything comparable in degree with what is being attained by instructors in that department. Professor Grandgent very justly said in an address delivered in December, 1892, before the Massachusetts Association of Classical and High School Teachers: "I think it would be no exaggeration to say that if we spent all our three years in translation and grammar (notice that Professor Grandgent assumed three years of modern language study in the Massachusetts secondary schools), our pupils would at the end of that time be just in proper condition to begin serious work in composition."³ Although it is decidedly easier to write French or German than Greek or Latin, and the pupil is not so easily discouraged, we cannot expect the attainment of a swift and accurate composition in secondary schools, and, save under exceptional circumstances, hardly in Southern colleges at the present time. This sort of drill is nevertheless an indispensable auxiliary to grammar study, and, if intelligently directed, a signal aid in reading and in translation; for it certainly clarifies the student's knowledge as nothing else does. Dr. Hermann Schiller is assuredly right when he says that "expressing a thought in two languages, thus thinking it according to the laws

²Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, V. p. 10.

³"The Teaching of French and German in Our Public Schools," in "Methods of Teaching Modern Languages," p. 141.

of each, signifies its complete mastery."* Good composition compels an uncompromising application of the student's attainment, an application that is probably the most thoroughgoing and satisfactory test of his real grasp upon the language. The writing of French and German can, therefore, truly be made a fruitful discipline in observation, generalization, and proof, and a well-kept exercise-book is a concise and accurate record of scientific thinking, corresponding in a very large degree to the carefully prepared laboratory note-book of the student in the natural sciences. Composition exercises the memory in so far as it tends to develop those habits that make for good memory, and also the constructive imagination in its linguistic aspects, although here, as elsewhere, an over-exuberant imagination may produce fearful and wonderful combinations. Sometimes it seems to me that in the days of Ecclesiastes there could have been no such thing as the teaching of composition; otherwise he could hardly have ventured the statement that there is no new thing under the sun. The right use of the imagination restrained by the contributions of memory and reason is constantly called for in successful composition. In so far as this exercise provides the means of teaching the student to do willingly and with satisfaction to himself, work that is exacting and, perhaps, at times even somewhat onerous, it is peculiarly adapted to the training of the will. Just so far as the student is filled with the passion for accuracy, it is actually, as Mr. Lowell said of good translation, "an affair of conscience as well," and tends to make him impatient with sham, fraud, and falsehood. Composition must be conceded, therefore to have an important place in modern language instruction and to possess high disciplinary value.

*Dr. H. Schiller: *Handbuch der praktischen Pädagogik für höhere Anstalten*, p. 389.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Senator Hoar's Reminiscences.*

BY WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

This is a remarkably cheerful book, and Senator Hoar has seen much of life—and of politics, by many thought to be the worst side of life. The young reader will find himself encouraged to take a hopeful view of human nature and of human affairs. Most of the reminiscences are pleasant, rather than the reverse. The old statesman not only succeeds in finding more good than evil in the humanity he has so variously encountered; he seems also, on the whole, to be rather pleased with the part he himself has played, to approve the courses he has taken, and to find that he has been rightly appreciated by his fellows. To have called his memoirs confessions would have been a misnomer. In all his public career he has remained a loyal member of the party which at the beginning of it he helped to form; and that party, he is quite satisfied, has been right in all its main contentions,—it is responsible for a great many good laws and for no very bad ones. This, however, does not imply that the other party, by constantly opposing it, successfully demonstrates the power of evil in the world. No: Senator Hoar is confident that if he and all his fellow-republicans were to drop dead, the democrats would govern the republic well. So would the Catholics, if all the Protestants were to die; so would the foreigners, if there weren't any native-born Americans; so would the Southerners, if the North should be depopulated.

This optimistic view of life and of human nature has prevailed over a good many disapprovals. Senator Hoar frankly disapproved of the corruption which he found so nearly universal when he came to congress at the end of the sixties. He disapproved of his two distinguished fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, Gen. B. F. Butler and Wendell Phillips. In his tributes to his classmates at Harvard, he does not even mention the name of the one survivor whose distinction is comparable to his own. We all know that in his speeches he has disapproved of much in

*Autobiography of Seventy Years. By George F. Hoar. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903, 2 vols.,—ix., 434, 493 pp.

our colonial policy since 1898, and that his disapproval of the democratic party must have been greater still, since he never has, on account of any dissatisfaction with his own associates, given to the opposition the slightest practical countenance.

When we try to analyze and measure the senator's optimism, it will to most of us, I think, seem rather the outcome of such things as personal temperament, the practical success of our American experiment, the success of the causes which Mr. Hoar has had most at heart, and his own success, than of a closely reasoned philosophy of life. There is shrewdness in many specific observations; there is a sense of humor, even; but penetrating analysis of men's characters and motives does not seem to be the writer's gift. Nor is he endowed with a strong sense of proportion. For most of us, as we grow older, the great man disappears. But here we find him on almost every page. There were great men in Concord, where Mr. Hoar was a boy; in Worcester, where he spent his young-manhood; all over Massachusetts, in fact, in those days; and in Washington they have been simply legion. There is no falling off in the supply. It is not an old man's weakness of magnifying the past. We shall doubtless, next autumn, hear him assign President Roosevelt as big a niche in the temple as he has given to any other.

This is to indicate the grain of salt with which these reminiscences may best be taken. Some of them, it should be added, seem to have been written down *currente calamo*; perhaps they were even dictated. More than one chapter appeared first in a magazine. But they are as a rule quite readable. The pattering sentences tell stories very well. They sometimes display situations with admirable clearness, e. g., in the brief but convincing explanation of the *Credit Mobilier* fraud. Once or twice they rise into eloquence, as in the letter on the A. P. A. movement—probably the best thing in the book, if not in the whole life of the writer—and in the petition of the birds to the Massachusetts general court.

Naturally, Southerners will be particularly interested in the *résumés* of various North-and-South controversies. There is no ill-will displayed, and many pleasant things are said about the South and Southerners. But there is no departure from the general attitude the New England senator has always taken. He

does not consider reconstruction a failure. The disappointments one finds in it are mainly due, he thinks, to the neglect of congress to pass, along with the reconstruction bill of 1867, some measure of the nature of the Blair education bill. "The negro question," he declares, "will be settled when the education of the white man is complete." He even defends the federal election bill which he championed in 1890, though admitting that it would probably be unwise to attempt to revive it. In his discussion of the question of negro suffrage he twice makes the statement, indefensible by any method but quibbling, that the Southern States themselves conferred the suffrage on the negroes.

The personality which the book reveals is amiable rather than commanding. The best qualities of the man seem to reflect clearly those ideals of the New England of half a century and more ago which in the early chapters are engagingly displayed. How far those ideals still influence American politics may perhaps be judged by the degree of success with which Mr. Hoar has now and then dissented from his party's courses. I have heard an observer at close range declare that, so far from controlling any other votes, the senior senator from Massachusetts never has controlled his own. But I have also heard him praised by one of the managers of the opposition party in the nation as the greatest statesman now in congress, and a man whom posterity will set high above his contemporaries. Is it not more likely that posterity will judge of his whole career as we today judge of those chapters in it which are already finished?

Civilization and the Postoffice

BY BRENT MOORE

As a general rule it is not a good thing for men to stop working to survey what they have accomplished. On the whole it is best to look ever forward, to struggle ever upward as long as the strength in us lasts. It is best to keep in mind those things which we have not yet done, and to look to our shortcomings, rather than to our achievements, if we would approach perfection. When the time comes for us to sink with weariness, let us even then be found by those who come after us, with our faces toward the far-off light; for two things are sure—we can never reach the goal, and we cannot go on forever. The question is only how far we can get upon the right road, using all the strength that hope gives us? The danger in stopping to look back is that we may become satisfied with our progress, or worse, that we will flatter ourselves that we have reached perfection, and so announce to the world and posterity. The danger then is, that others, who must in time reach our halting place, will doubt our assurance that there is nothing beyond, and attempt to push on. The natural thing for us then, is to block the road, lest these bold explorers press onward and put us to scorn. Even should we kill the first few comers, their numbers will thicken, and we will inevitably be tossed aside and forgotten, or remembered only with a curse, as those who held back the tide of civilization. On the other hand, those who fell in the struggle will be the martyrs to mark the way forever for those who follow after. It may happen, too, that the sight of these will strengthen the hearts of others to go onward, though they even then be weary.

The road to civilization is dotted everywhere with the bodies of pioneers, most of whom fell at the hands of the enemies of progress. Probably still more of them have been slain in secret and hidden, lest others, finding how far they had gone, might take heart to go as far or further. The wiser foes of progress do not want such landmarks, nor do they turn back the pioneers to publish their wrongs. It is only the foolish or desperate ones who try to stem the tide by open violence. Communication with their fellows will often hurry them on to help the pioneers to

clear the road. Publicity is generally dreaded by the powers of darkness, unless the men with whom they deal are utterly sheepish.

We may be sure of this, that no matter when or where it be, there are always some who are willing or rash enough to stand in the march of civilization. If it be so that we can easily call on our fellows for help, mankind can generally trample the opposition under foot, and go on. Without such communication, then, may God help us; for we cannot fight through singly. With such communication as exists to-day, there seems to be no assignable limit to our future civilization.

If one looks for the heart of our civilization, he will probably find it in our system of communication, through which we are kept in touch with nearly all mankind. Owing to the enemies of progress, the records which have come down to us out of the past are scanty, and probably distorted purposely to mislead us; but the historians, who are trying to put us in touch with the past, believe that civilization and communication have always risen and fallen together. Any one, therefore, who breaks or tampers with our communication with our fellows either of the present or the past, by that deed strikes at the progress of our civilization.

While communication of thought and feeling to-day goes on in many ways, that which is carried on through the mails probably far exceeds any other. It is best to take our great achievements as a matter of course, and go on; but sometimes, when we lift up our eyes and look about us, we may well be astonished at what we have done. It is thus with the postal system. We drop a letter in an iron box and take no further thought save for the answer. We know that in all human probability it will reach its destination, whether it be Iceland, New Zealand, the Feejee Islands, or down town. We feel that the faith of civilization itself is pledged to carry it on. Governments may rise or fall across its path, but the letter goes on; and if any man or set of men dare to stop it, they must reckon with us.

The speeding of a letter seems a small thing, but it is really the triumph of all the ages. The tiny paper thing, blown about by a breath—the flimsiest thing imaginable, helpless against brute, insect, or the elements, has done that which the love of Christ, the dread of the Turk and the craft of the popes all failed to do;

it has knit the world into a common fellowship of man; and mouse and king will touch it at their peril.

Looking at the world's postal system as it stands to-day, our imagination is swallowed up in its greatness. The only way we can gain any conception of it is to approach it from the past, where it soon dwindles to little or nothing. Owing to the enemies of God, it is impossible to find out whether there ever was before a postal system worthy of the name. Our studies, however, do seem to show this; that postal communication is essential to any broad-bottomed civilization. Some students, feeling this, and anxious to prove that their favorite nation—Egypt, Greece, or some other, was truly civilized, will make much of little evidence to show that postal systems existed in the past somewhat akin to ours. Some seek the origin of mails in the ancient courier systems, which seem to be as old as government itself. It is possible that since the world began some good-natured government might sometimes have allowed its couriers to carry a few private letters (reading them first, of course) had any such been offered, but there seems to be little evidence of this; at least, the doctors disagree on this point. It might be that some time in the past the men of some country may have controlled their government for a while, and turned the courier system into a mail service; but such is not a known fact.

Our modern postal system is a mercantile creation. It was trade routes, not courier lines, which were turned into mail routes. The great universities of the middle ages brought together from all parts of Europe many thousands of students, who could and would write home and to each other, if a way offered. The merchants, too, found it both possible and necessary to communicate with each other, and found it profitable to carry private mails. Unlike kings, they wished for, instead of fearing, the spread of intelligence. Thus it was the co-operation of merchants and universities that built up the postal system as we know it. One furnished the means to carry, and the other, the ability to write, letters.

While the Hanse and Dutch merchants did much for the mail service, our modern system dates from the supremacy of the British shipping. It is England which has made most of the improvements, and it is there that the development of the mail service has been most continuous, most rapid, and most highly

perfected. A glance into history shows that strangers carried and controlled the British foreign mails until 1558, in which year they quarreled among themselves as to this right. The British merchants then complained that the strangers were a nuisance, in that they withheld the market reports to their own advantage, and against that of the English merchants. The crown then took over the control of all mails.

The spread of learning and of the English shipping, and the awakened interest in the great world, which characterized Elizabeth's age, called for an inland mail service also. Comparatively few could write, but at every post, the people would crowd around Elizabeth's couriers, and make them tell the news. The annexation of England to Scotland, in 1603, necessitated a permanent courier line between London and Edinburgh; and finally, Charles I. allowed the couriers to carry private letters. Word was passed around that the king was in the way of progress, with the result that we know. The government was taken over by the people, and Thomas Witherings was put in charge of the mails. The oversea service grew rapidly with the rise of the British shipping, and post-barks or packet boats were soon added. The orders to these, in those days of universal piracy, were, "You must run while you can, fight when you can no longer run, and throw the mails overboard when fighting will no longer avail." The sailors of that day were a merry lot, and accidents often happened to the mails. Thus, the central office complains: "We are concerned to find the letters brought by your boat to be so consumed by the rats, that we cannot find out to whom they belong." Again: "Mr. Edisbury:—The woman whose complaint we herewith send you, having given us much trouble upon the same, we desire you will inquire into the same, and see justice done her, believing she may have had her brandy stole from her by the sailors.—We are your affectionate friends, etc." Still, these accidents decreased rapidly; and the British shipping and mail service, after the downfall of Holland, spread all over the earth, as it still does to-day.

Meanwhile, the inland postoffice fell into anarchy, or spread very slowly. The Orkneys did not hear of the expulsion of James II. until several months afterward. Often the mails would be lost in the woods and swamps by careless post boys, or they would be robbed openly by outlaws, or stolen from the horses

while the boys were in the taverns bracing themselves for the next wild ride through the frosty night, over the puddly, stump-strewn, robber-thick dirt roads of England, where the outlaws would shoot them just for fun. Still, these vexations were small beside the official villanies, and the prying of Cromwell, who encouraged the mail service as a means of ferreting out "treason." Every conceivable villiany was practiced in every postoffice by the thieving, scandal-hunting, blackmailing postmasters and clerks; yet even this imperfect communication spread civilization, and as civilization grew, it became stronger to perfect the postal service.

In 1692, the American colonies were authorized to establish systems; but these failing, the British mail service was extended to all their dominions in 1710. The growth here was very slow. As Mr. Rees says, "To trace up the postal history of the colonies to the glorious epoch of our independence would be to give a history of their trade and commerce, science and art." Even in England the postal service developed rather by jerks. The official system would get in the way of progress and have to be prodded from time to time by a reform, or by private competing companies. Of these reformers, Ralph Allen, John Palmer and Sir Rowland Hill were the greatest.

In 1720 Ralph Allen was allowed to try his proposed reform on the neglected cross-country roads. He succeeded so well that his system seemed about to absorb the general postoffice; and a sigh of relief went up in that institution when he died. In 1783 Palmer headed the demand for reform, charging the postoffice with every kind of rascality, and proving that the post was the slowest conveyance in the country. Palmer had a queer notion that it ought to be the quickest. The government fought him desperately; but Palmer appealed to the people, with the usual result. His reforms went through, he was made controller-general of the posts, and got the service going so well that it kept out of the way until 1837, when Sir Rowland Hill reformed it again. Hill established the postoffice practically as it exists throughout the world to-day, introducing cheap and uniform letter rates and postage stamps.

In 1844 it was found that the government was opening letters; and this, together with the haughty air assumed by the authorities, enraged all England. The government finally bowed to the

storm, apologized, and stopped the practice. In this way, they succeeded in saving the political principle that letters might be opened when the safety of the commonwealth seemed to demand it; but it is highly improbable that this right will ever be used.

It seems that during the seventeenth century Beatus Fischer proposed a general European postal union, with headquarters at Bern, to check the power of France. It failed, of course; but in 1862 our own postoffice, probably striking at England, issued a call to all the world to meet in congress and establish an international postal union. The congress did meet the next year at Paris. Since then it has met again in Bern, Lisbon, and Vienna, establishing, at the last meeting, permanent headquarters at Bern.

It is perfectly natural that Bern was chosen to be the precious center of this precious world-wide system—to hold the key to the world's heart. Switzerland is the home of a thousand-years-tried democracy; and there, if anywhere, the world's mail service can be directed, free from the meddling of popes, king, emperors, and presidents.

Since the founding of the postal union, the world's mails have grown to inconceivable proportions, have searched out nearly every crook and cranny of the globe, and become the wonder of the world. Through the medium of these countless thought-shells flitting about everywhere, the world has come to feel and think as one man. As Lewins says, "Letters of every shape and color, and of all weights have unceasingly poured in; tidings of life and death, hope and despair, success and failure, triumph and defeat, joy and sorrow; letters from friends and notes from lawyers, appeals from children and stern advice from parents, offers from anxious-hearted young gentlemen, and 'first yesses' or refusals from young maidens; letters containing that snug appointment so long promised you, and 'little bills' with requests for immediate payment, 'together with six-and-eight pence;' cream colored missives telling of happy consummations, and black-edged envelopes, telling of death and the grave; sober-looking advice notes, doubtless telling when 'our Mr. Puffwell' would do himself the honor of calling on you, and elegant-looking billets in which business is never mentioned, all jostled each other for a short time."

Industrial Development in Alabama During the Civil War

BY WALTER L. FLEMING, PH. D.,

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Early in the war the blockade of the Southern ports became so effective that the Southern States were shut off from their usual sources of supply by sea. Trade through the lines between the United States and the Confederate States was unlawful, and Alabama, owing to its central location, suffered more from the blockade than any other State. For three years the federal lines touched the northern part of the State only, and, as no railroads connected North and South Alabama, contraband trade was difficult in that direction. Mobile, the only port of the State, was closely blockaded by a strong Federal fleet. The railroad communication with other States was poor, and the confederate government usually kept the railroads busy in the public service. Consequently, the people of Alabama were forced to develop certain industries in order to secure the necessities of life. But outside these the industrial development was largely in the direction of the production of materials of war.

Military Industries.—During the first two years of the war volunteers were much more plentiful than equipment. The arms seized at Mount Vernon and other arsenals were old flintlocks altered for the use of percussion caps and were almost worthless, being valued at \$2 a piece. These were afterwards transferred to the Confederate States, which returned but few of them to arm the Alabama troops.* Late in 1860 a few thousand old muskets were purchased by the State from the arsenal at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, for \$2.50 each. A few Mississippi rifles were also secured and with these the Second Alabama regiment was armed. These rifles, however, required a special kind of ammunition and this made them almost worthless. Other arms were found to be useless for the same reason. Both cavalry and infantry regi-

*Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I., 471. *Official Records*, Series I., Vol. III., 440.

ments went to the front armed with single and double-barrelled shotguns, squirrel-rifles, muskets, flintlocks, and old pistols. No ammunition could be supplied for such a miscellaneous collection. Many regiments had to wait for months before arms could be obtained. Before October, 1861, several thousand men had left Alabama unarmed, and several thousand more, also unarmed, were left waiting in the State camps.* In 1861, the State legislature bought a thousand pikes and a hundred bowie knives to arm the forty-eighth militia regiment which was defending Mobile. The sum of \$250,000 was appropriated as a loan to any person who would manufacture fire arms for the government.† In 1862 the confederate congress authorized the enlistment of companies armed with pikes who should take the places of men armed with firearms when the latter were dead or absent.‡ All private arms—muskets, rifles, pistols, shotguns, carbines—were called for and purchased from the owners when not donated.§ An offer was made to advance fifty per cent. of the amount necessary to set up machinery for the manufacture of small arms.|| Old Spanish flintlock muskets were brought in through the blockade, altered, and placed in the hands of the troops.¶

In 1862 a small-arms factory was established at Tallassee, which employed 150 men and turned out about 150 carbines a day. At the end of 1864 it had produced only 6,000.° At Montgomery the Alabama Arms Manufacturing Company had the best machinery in the confederacy for making Enfield rifles. At Selma were the State and confederate arsenals, a navy yard, and naval foundry with machinery of English make, of the newest and most complete pattern. It had been brought through the blockade from Europe and set up at Selma because that seemed to be a place safest from invasion and from the raids of the enemy. Here the vessels for the defence of Mobile were built, heavy ordnance was cast, with shot and shell, and plating for men-of-war.

*Miller, *History of Alabama*, 158. Davis, *Confederate Government*, I., 476. O. R., Ser. I., Vol. III., 440.

†Acts of 2nd Called and 1st Reg. Sess., (1861) 75, 211.

‡Apr. 10, 1862, Pub. Laws. C. S. A., 1st Cong. 1st Sess.

§Apr. 16, 1862, Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong. 1st Sess. Gov's Proclamation, March 1, 1862.

||Apr. 17, 1862, Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong. 1st Sess.

¶O. R., Ser. I., Vol. III., 870, 875.

°O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III., 986, 987. Davis, I., 480, So. Hls. Soc. Papers, II., 61.

The ram "Tennessee," famous in the fight in Mobile Bay, the gunboats "Morgan," "Selma," and "Gaines" were all built at the Selma navy yard—guns, armor, and everything being manufactured on the spot. When the "Tennessee" surrendered after a terrible battle its armor had not been penetrated by a single shot or shell. The best cannon in America were cast at the works in Selma. The naval foundry employed 3,000 men, and the other works as many more. Half the cannon and two-thirds of the fixed ammunition used during the last two years of the war were made at these foundries and factories. The foundry destroyed by Wilson was pronounced by experts to be the best in existence. It could turn out at short notice a fifteen-inch Brooks or a mountain howitzer. Swords, rifles, muskets, pistols, and caps were manufactured in great quantities. There were more than a hundred buildings which covered fifty acres, and after Wilson's destructive work, Truman said that they presented the greatest mass of ruins he had ever seen.* The arsenal was commanded by Colonel J. L. White; the naval foundries and the rolling mills were under the direction of Captain Catesby and Roger Jones, the designer of the "Virginia." Commodore Ebenezer Farrand superintended the construction of war vessels at the Selma navy yard. Captain Jones cast the heavy ordnance for Mobile, Charleston, and Wilmington. Five gunboats were built at Selma, in 1863, and two or three others in 1864-1865. The ram "Tennessee," built in 1863-4, was constructed like the "Virginia," but it was an improvement except for the weak engines. When the keel of the "Tennessee" was laid in the fall of 1863 some of the timbers to be used in her were still standing in the forest, and the iron for her plates was ore in the mines.†

There was a navy yard on the Tombigbee, in Clarke County, near the Sunflower Bend. Several war vessels, probably gunboats, were in process of construction here when the war ended, and both vessels and machinery were destroyed by order of the confederate authorities.‡ Gun-powder was scarce all during the

*Scharf, *Confederate Navy*, 50, 584, 550, 555. *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, 654. Maclay, *Hist. of U. S. Navy*, II., 446, 447. Wilson, *Ironclads in Action*, 116.

†Miller, *History of Alabama*, 180, 181. Davis, I., 480, 481. Hardy, *History of Selma*, 46, 47. *New York Times*, Nov. 2, 1865. (Truman). O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III., 986, 987.

‡Ball, *Clarke County*, 765.

war, and nitre or salt-petre, its principal ingredient, was not to be purchased from abroad. A powder mill was established at Cahaba* but the ingredients were lacking. Charcoal for gunpowder was made from willow, dogwood, and similar woods. The nitre on hand was soon exhausted, and it was sought for in the caves of the limestone region of Alabama and Tennessee. In North Alabama there were many of these large caves. The earth in them was dug up and put in hoppers and water poured in to leach out the nitre. The lye was caught (just as for making soft soap from lye ashes), boiled down, and then dried in the sunshine.† The earth in cellars and under old houses was scraped up and leached for the nitre in it.

In 1862 a corps of officers was organized as the Nitre and Mining Bureau to work the nitre caves of north Alabama which lay in the doubtful region between the union and the confederate lines, and which were often raided by the enemy. The men were subjected to military discipline and were under the absolute command of the superintendent, who often called upon them to repulse federal raiders. As much as possible in this department, as in the others, exempts and negroes were used for laborers. For clerical work those disabled for active service were appointed, and instructions were issued that employment should be given to needy refugee women.‡ These important nitre works were repeatedly destroyed by the federals, who killed or captured many of the employees.§ In the district of upper Alabama, under the command of Captain William Gabbitt, whose headquarters were at Blue Mountain, (now Anniston,) most of the work was done in the limestone caves of the mountain region.|| Several hundred men—whites and negroes—were employed in extracting the nitre from the cave earth. To the end of September, 1864, this district had produced 222,665 pounds of nitre at a cost of \$237,977.17, war prices.¶

The supply from the caves proved insufficient and artificial

*O. R. IV., Vol. II., 29, 102.

†Miller, 201, 230. Davis, I., 473. Parcher, Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests, 378.

‡Apr. 11, 1862, Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess.

§O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III., 195, 697.

||One of the most valuable of these caves was the "Santa Cave." See O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. II., pp. 29, 102.

¶O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III., 695, 698.

nitre beds, or nitreries, were prepared in the cities of south and central Alabama. It was necessary to have them near large towns in order to obtain a plentiful supply of animal matter and potash and the necessary labor. Efforts were also made to induce planters in marl or limestone counties to work plantation earth.* Under the supervision of Professor W. H. C. Price, nitreries were established at Selma, Mobile, Talladega, Tuscaloosa, and Montgomery. Negro labor was used almost entirely, each negro having charge of one small nitre bed. To October, 1864, the nitreries of southern Alabama produced 34,716 pounds at a cost of \$26,171.14, which was somewhat cheaper than the nitre from the caves. From these nitreries better results were obtained than from the French, Swedish, and Russian nitreries which served as models. The confederate nitre beds were from sixteen to twenty-seven months old in October, 1864, and hence not at their best producing stage. Yet allowing for the difference in age they gave better results, as they procured from 2.57 to 3.3 ounces of nitre per cubit foot, while the average European results at four years of age were four ounces a cubic foot. Cave earth gave six to twelve ounces a cubic foot. Earth from under old houses and from cellars produced from two to four ounces to the cubic foot. Most of the nitre thus obtained was made into powder at the mills in Salem. There were some private manufacturers of nitre, and to encourage these the confederate congress authorized the advance to makers of fifty per cent. of the cost of necessary machinery.†

The State legislature appropriated \$30,000 to encourage the manufacture and preparation of powder, saltpetre, sulphur, and lead. Little of the latter article was found in Alabama.‡ Some of the powder works were in operation as early as 1861, and in that year the war department gave Dr. Ullman, of Tallapoosa, a contract to supply 1,000 to 1,500 pounds of sulphur a day.§

*O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. II., 29, 102.

†In 1861, the war department gave Leonard and Riddle, of Montgomery, an order for 60,000 pounds of nitre, and a company near Larkinsville in North Alabama was making 700 pounds a day, which it sold to the government at 22 to 35 cents a pound. O. R., Series, IV., Vol. I., 556.

‡April 17, 1862, Public Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess., Acts of Dec. 7, 1861, and Dec. 2, 1862. O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III., 195, 698, 702, 987. Davis, I., 316, 473, 477. Miller, 201, 230. Schwab, Confederate States. Annual Cyclopaedia, (1862,) 9. LeConte's Autobiography, 184.

§O. R., Series, IV., Vol. I., 556.

The Confederate Nitre and Mining Bureau had charge of the production of iron in Alabama for the use of the confederacy. The mines were principally in the hilly region south of the Tennessee river and several furnaces and iron works were established before the war. Two or three new companies with capital of \$1,000,000 each had bought mineral lands and had commenced operation when the war broke out. The confederate government bought the property or gave the companies financial assistance. The manufacturies were often raided by the federals who blew up the furnaces and wrecked the iron works.* The Iron-dale works near Elyton were begun in 1862, and made much iron, but they also were destroyed by the federals† Several large furnaces with their forges, foundries, and rolling mills were destroyed by Rousseau's raid in 1864. The government employed several hundred conscripts and several thousand negroes in the mines and rolling mills. It also offered fifty per cent. of the cost of equipment to encourage the opening of new mines by private owners.‡ There is record of only about 15,000 tons of Alabama iron being mined by the confederacy, but probably there was much more.§ The iron was sent to Selma, Montgomery, and other places for manufacture. The ordnance cast in Selma was of Alabama iron, and after the war when the United States sold the ruins of the arsenal the big guns were cut up and sent to Philadelphia. Here the fine quality of the iron attracted the attention of experts and led to the development by Northern capital of the iron industry in North Alabama.

The confederate government encouraged the building and extension of railroads, and paid large sums to them for the transportation of troops, munitions of war, and military supplies.|| Several lines of road within the State were made military roads, and the government extended their lines, built bridges and cars,

*Somers, 162.

†Somers, 175.

‡April 9, 1862, Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess.

§O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III., 695, 700, 702, 990.

||1. Ammunition, 60 cents per 100 pounds, per 100 miles; 2. (Second-class,) 30 cents per 100 pounds, per 100 miles; 3. Live stock, \$30.00 per car, per 100 miles; 4. Hay, fodder, wagons, ambulances, etc., \$20.00 per car, per 100 miles. Troops were to be carried for 2½ to 3¼ cents a mile per man. O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. II., 276.

and kept the lines in repair.* In 1862, \$150,000 was advanced to the Alabama and Mississippi Railway Company to complete the line between Selma and Meridian,† and the duty on iron needed for the road was remitted.‡ On June 25, of this year, this road was seized by the military authorities in order to finish it;§ and because of the lack of iron, D. H. Kenny was directed (July 21, 1863,) to impress the iron and rolling stock belonging to the Alabama and Florida Railway, the Gainesville Branch of the Mobile and Ohio, the Cahaba, Marion and Greensborough Railroad, and the Uniontown and Newbern Railroad. This was a very important line of road since it tapped the supply districts of Mississippi. There were many difficulties in the way of the builders. In 1862 the locomotives were wearing out and no iron was to be obtained. In the fall of the same year the planters withdrew their negroes who were working on the road and left the bridges half finished. But finally in December, 1862, the road was completed.|| In the fall of 1862, a road between Blue Mountain, Alabama, and Rome, Georgia, was planned, and \$1,122,480.92 was appropriated by the confederate congress, a mortgage being taken as security.¶ This road was graded and some bridges built and iron laid, but it was not in running order before the end of the war.

* Chas. T. Pollard, president of the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, who ran his road under direction of the government, reported, April 4, 1862, that he had placed the whole line between Montgomery and Selma under contract and that it would be completed within a year if iron could be obtained. He thought the road between Selma and Meridian ought to be completed at once. O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 10, 48. On September 14, 1864, it was reported that the grading was finished on the road between Montgomery and Union Springs, but that no iron could be obtained. O. R., Ser. IV., Vol., III., 576.

† O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 941, Pub. Laws, C. S. A., Feb. 15, 1863.

‡ On April 4, 1862, the secretary of war wrote to A. S. Gaines, that the road from Selma to Demopolis had been completed; from Demopolis to Reagan, a distance of 24 miles, a part of the grading had been done; while the road from Reagan to Meridian, a distance of 27 miles, had been graded, bridged, and some iron had been laid. O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 1048-1049, 1061. Gaines stated, April 24, 1862, that on the Mississippi end of the road it was completed to within 8 miles of Demopolis, and was being built at the rate of three miles a week. Connection was made by boat to Gainesville, within two miles of a spur of the Mobile and Ohio, 21 miles long, which had been completed. O. R., Ser. Vol. I., 1171.

§ O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 1171.

|| O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 1089, 1145; Vol. II., 106, 148, 149, 655.

¶ O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. II., 144-145; Vol. III., 312, Stat. at Large, Prov. Cong. C. S. A., Feb. 15, 2862. Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong. 1st Sess., April 7, and Oct. 2, 1862.

Telegraph lines which had been few before the war, were now placed along each railroad and several cross-county lines were put up. The first important new line was along the Mobile & Ohio railroad, from Mobile to Meridian.*

Private Manufacturing Enterprises.—Both the State and the confederate government encouraged manufacturers by legislation. The confederate government was always ready to advance half of the cost of the machinery, and to take goods in payment. An early law of Alabama secured the rights of inventors and authors. All patents under the United States laws prior to January 11, 1861, were to hold good under the State laws, and the United States patent and copyright laws were adopted for Alabama.† Later, jurisdiction over patents, inventions, and copyrights was transferred to the confederate government. A bonus of five and ten cents apiece on all cotton and wool cards made in Alabama was offered by the legislature in December, 1861.‡ All employees in iron mills, in foundries, and in factories supplying the State or confederate governments with arms, clothing, cloth, and the like were declared by the State exempt from military duty.§

Factories were soon in operation all over the State, especially in central Alabama. In all places where there were government factories there also were factories conducted by private individuals. In 1861 there were factories at Tallassee, Autaugaville, and Prattville with 23,000 spindles and 800 employes, which could make 5,000 yards of good tent cloth a day.|| And other cotton mills were established as early as 1861.¶ The federals burned these buildings and destroyed the machinery. There was the most "unsparing hostility displayed by the Northern armies to this branch of industry. They destroyed instantly every cotton factory within their reach."°

At Tuscaloosa were cotton and shoe factories, tanneries, and an iron foundry. A large cotton factory was established in Bibb county, and at Gainesville there were work shops, iron mills, and

*O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 783.

†Acts, Feb. 8, 1861.

‡Acts 2nd Called and 1st Sess., 70.

§Act, Dec. 9, 1861.

||Governor Moore to Sec. L. A. Walker, July 2, 1861. O. R., Ser. VII., Vol. I., 493, Somers, 136.

¶Schwab, Conf. States, 271.

°Somers, 136.

foundries, and cotton, wool and harness factories conducted by private individuals. There were cotton and woollen factories at Prattville and Autaugaville, and at Montgomery were car shops, harness shops, iron mills, foundries, and machine shops. The best tent cloth and uniform cloth was made at the factories of Tallassee. The State itself began the manufacture of shoes, salt, clothing, whiskey, alcohol, army supplies, and supplies for the destitute.* Extensive manufacturing establishments of various kinds in Madison, Lauderdale, Tuscumbia, Bibb, Autauga, Coosa, and Tallapoosa counties, were destroyed during the war by the federals. There were iron works in Bibb, Shelby, Calhoun, and Jefferson counties, and in 1864 there were a dozen large furnaces with rolling mills and foundries in the State.† However, in that same year the governor complained that though Alabama had immense quantities of iron ore, even the planters in the iron country were unable to get sufficient iron to make and mend agricultural implements, since all iron that was mined was used for purposes of the confederacy.‡ The best and strongest cast iron in the confederacy was made at Selma and at Briarfield. The cotton factories and tanneries in the Tennessee valley were destroyed at an early date by the federal troops.§

Salt-Making.—Salt was one of the first necessities of life which became scarce on account of the blockade. March 20, 1862, the adjutant and inspector-general of Alabama stated that the confederacy needed 6,000,000 bushels of salt, and that only an enormous price would force the people to make it. In Montgomery salt was very scarce, bringing \$20 a sack, and speculators were using every trick and fraud in order to control the supply.|| The poor people especially soon felt the want of it, and in November, 1861, the legislature passed an act to encourage the manufacture of salt at the State reservation in Clarke county.¶

*Acts, Dec. 13, 1864. Acts of Alabama, 2nd Called and 1st Reg. Sess., *passim*.

†LeConte states that in 1863 he found the only Bessemer furnace in the confederacy at Shelbyville; it was the first he had ever seen.—Autobiography, 184-185. It was probably the best in America.

‡O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III., p. 3.

§Miller, 179, 180, 181, 193. Davis, I., 481. *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 14, 1867. *New York Herald*, May 15, 1865.

¶O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 1010.

¶This act authorized the governor to lease the salt springs belonging to the State and to require the lessee to sell salt at seventy-five cents a bushel at the salt works. The State paid ten cents a bushel bounty and advanced \$10,000 to the salt maker. Acts, Nov. 11 and Nov. 19, 1861.

The State government even began to make salt at these salt springs. At the Upper Works, near Old St. Stephens, 600 men and 120 teams were employed at 30 furnace which were kept going all the time, the production amounting to 600 bushels a day. These works were in operation from 1862 to 1865. The Lower Works, near Sunflower Bend on the Tombigbee river, for four years employed 400 men with 80 teams at 20 furnaces. The production was about 400 bushels a day. The Central Works, near Salt Mountain, were under private management, and it is said, were much more successful than the works under State management.* The price of salt at the works ranged from \$2.50 to \$7 a bushel in gold, or from \$3 to \$40 in currency. From 1861 to 1865 500,000 bushels of good quality was produced each year.

To obtain the salt water wells were bored to depths ranging 60 to 100 feet. One well, however, was 600 feet deep, while in the bottom or swamp lands brine was sometimes found at a depth of eight feet. The water at first rose to the surface and overflowed about thirty gallons a minute in some wells, but as more wells were sunk the brine ceased to flow out and had to be pumped about sixteen feet by steam or horse power. It was boiled in large iron kettles like those then used in syrup making and which are still seen in remote districts in the South. Seven or eight kettles of water would make one kettle of salt. This was about the same percentage that was obtained at the Onondaga, (N. Y.) salt springs. About the same boiling was required as in making syrup from sugar cane juice. The wells were scattered for miles over the country and thousands of men were employed. For three years more than 6,000 men, white and black, were employed at the salt works of Clarke county, from 2,000 to 3,000 working at the Upper Works alone. All were not at work at the furnaces, but hundreds were engaged in cutting and hauling wood for fuel, and in sacking and barreling salt. It is said that in the woods blows of no single axe nor the sound of any single falling tree could be distinguished; the sound was continuous. Nine or ten square miles of pine timber were cleared for fuel.

*One private maker with one furnace and from 15 to 20 hands made 60 bushels a day. Another with 15 hands, burning 5 cords of wood, made 36 bushels a day. There were also many other private salt makers.

The salt was sent down the Tombigbee to Mobile or conveyed in wagons into the interior of Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. These wagons were so numerous that for miles from the various works it was difficult to cross the road. The whole place had the appearance of a manufacturing city. These works had been in operation to some extent since 1809. They remained exhausted from 1865 to 1870, when they began flowing again.

Beside the State works and large private works there were hundreds of smaller establishments. When salt was needed on a plantation in the Black Belt the overseer would take hands with pots and kettles and go to the salt wells, camp out for several weeks and make enough salt for the year's supply. All private makers had to give a certain amount to the State.* People from the interior of the State and from southeast Alabama went to the Florida coast and made salt by boiling the sea water. The State had salt works at Saltville, Virginia, but found it difficult to get transportation for the product. Salt was given to the poor people by the State, or sold to them at a moderate price. The legislature authorized the governor to take possession of all salt when necessary for public use, paying the owners a just compensation. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose in 1861, and in 1862 it was made a penal offense to send salt out of the State.† A salt commission was appointed to look after the salt works owned by the State in Louisiana. A private saltmaker in Clarke county made a contract to deliver two-fifths of his product to the State at the cost of manufacture, and the State purchased some salt from the Louisiana saltbeds.‡ As salt became scarcer the people took the brine in old pork and beef barrels and boiled it down. The soil under old smoke-houses was dug up, put in hoppers and leached like ashes, and the brine boiled down and dried in the sunshine.§

At Bon Secour Bay, near Mobile, there were salt works consisting of fifteen houses capable of making seventy-five bushels a day from the sea water. In 1864 these were burned by the federals, who often destroyed the salt works along the Florida

*Ball, Clarke County, 645-649, 765. Our Women in War, 275 *et seq.*

†Acts, Nov. 9, 1861, and Dec. 9, 1862.

‡Acts, Dec. 9, 1862, Oct. 11, 1864, and Dec. 13, 1864.

§Miller, History of Alabama, 156, 167, 230. Hague, Blockade Family Schwab. Our Women in War, 267, 268.

coast.* At Saltmarsh, ten miles west of Selma, there were works which furnished much of the salt used in Mississippi, central Alabama, and east Georgia during the years 1862, 1863, and 1864. Wells were dug to the depth of twelve or fifty feet, when salt water was struck. The wells were curbed, furnaces of lime-rock were built, and upon them large kettles were placed. The water was pumped from the wells and run into the kettles through troughs, then boiled down and the moisture evaporated by the sun. The fires were kept up day and night. A large number of blacks and whites were employed at these wells, and, as saltmakers were exempt from military duty, the work was quite popular.†

A prominent negro politician of reconstruction days used to relate how he, a slave, had to keep accounts, and read and write letters for the whites employed at the salt works. This shows the class of exempts usually employed in public works.

Besides the industries above mentioned there were many minor enterprises. The more important companies were chartered by the legislature. The acts of the war period show that in 1861 there were incorporated six insurance companies and the charters of others were amended to suit the changed conditions; three railroad companies were incorporated and aid granted to others for building purposes. Roads carrying troops and munitions free were exempted from taxation. Two mining and manufacturing companies were incorporated, four iron and coal companies, one iron foundry, an express company,‡ a salt manufacturing company, a chemical manufacturing company, a coal and leather company, and a wine and fruit company. In 1862 the legislature incorporated four iron and foundry companies, a railroad company, the Southern Express company, a gas-light company, six coal and iron companies, a rolling mill, and an oil company, and amended the charters of four railroad companies and two insurance companies. In 1864 two railroad companies were given permission to manufacture alcohol and lubricating oil, and the Citronelle Wine, Fruit, and Nursery Company was incorporated. Various other manufacturing companies—of drugs, barrels,

*New York *Herald*, Sept. 20, 1865. Miller, 167.

†American Cyclopædia, (1864), 10. New York *Times*, Apr. 15, 1864.

‡The Southern Express Company which is still in existence. It was the Southern division of the Adams Express Co.

and pottery—were established. Besides salt the State made alcohol and whiskey for the poor. Household manufactures were universal. Every man who had a more than usual regard for his comfort and wanted to keep out of the army had a tannery in his back yard, and made a few shoes or some harness for the confederacy, thus securing exemption.

Governor Moore, in his message to the legislature on October 28, 1861, said:

"Mechanical arts and industrial pursuits, hitherto practically unknown to our people, are already in operation. The clink of the hammer and the busy hum of the workshop are beginning to be heard throughout our land. Our manufactories are rapidly increasing, and the inconvenience which would result from the continuance of the war and the closing of our ports for years would be more than compensated by forcing us to the development of our abundant resources, and the tone and temper it would give to our national character. Under such circumstances the return of peace would find us a self-reliant and truly independent people."^a

The raids through the State in 1864 and 1865 destroyed most of the manufacturing establishments. The rest, whether owned by the government or private person, were seized by the federal troops at the surrender and dismantled.[†] The Freedman's Bureau was largely supported by sales of the remnants of iron works and other public property.

^aO. R., Ser. IV., Vol. I., 711.

[†]Miller, 179, 180, 181, 182. Davis, I., 481. *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 14, 1867. *New York Herald*, May 15, 1865. *Acts of the General Assembly of Alabama, 1861-1864, passim.*

Massachusetts and the New England Confederation

BY HELEN HENRY HODGE

The New England Confederation has justly become famous as the first step towards American union, and it would indeed be hard to overestimate its importance in this respect. But a study of the confederation shows it not only as the forerunner of the union of the different States at the federal convention, but also as a prototype of the dissensions among them that almost defeated its object. It is therefore interesting to consider the position of Massachusetts, the leading State in New England, in this early confederation. Its attitude towards the smaller members of the union has been described as overbearing, as indeed it was at times. But it must be remembered, in justice to Massachusetts, that the position of leader naturally belonged to the great Bay Colony, as it was with her and not with the new union that the outside powers negotiated, and to her that the weaker colonies looked for support. If at times Massachusetts threatened the dissolution of the union, on the other hand the influence of her name gave it a prestige and position it could never have had otherwise.

Attempts had been made as early as 1637 to establish this union, but it was not until May, 1643, that it was finally accomplished. Then the four colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth joined together in "a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions."* Each colony was to send two commissioners to the yearly meeting, while on the other hand the amount of aid to be given by each was in proportion to their population. Although the executive machinery was very imperfect, the confederation was a force among the New England colonies until 1664. Then the absorption of New Haven by Connecticut, and the consequent loss to the union of one of its members, together with the coming of the royal com-

*Hasard Collection of Documents, II., pp. 1-2.

missioners, and the increased interference by the home government in colonial affairs, put an end to its period of usefulness. It apparently realized this fact, as in that year it voted that triennial meetings should be substituted for the former annual ones. Accordingly the commissioners did not meet until 1667, and then the representatives of Massachusetts and Plymouth were authorized only to "act about the Indian affairs of the corporation, and . . . to treat of any propositions . . . for the renewing or entering into a new confederation."* In 1670, however, this new confederation was established, but it was a very weak revival of the old confederacy, and concerned itself almost entirely with the conversion of the Indians. Even this shadow of the old union lasted only until 1673, as in August of that year it held its last meeting.

In a consideration of the position of Massachusetts in this confederation, it is seen that in the first place it was regarded as the leader by the colonies outside the union; that in the second place, the other members of the confederation to some extent recognized this; but that, in the third place, a jealousy of interference on the part of Massachusetts, together with other causes, prevented at times complete harmony in the union.

Evidence that Massachusetts was considered by the colonial world as the leader of the New England colonies, can be found even before the formation of the confederation, in her relations with Rhode Island. As early as 1643 the little settlement of Pawtuxet appealed to her for aid against the lawlessness of Samuel Gaston and his followers, who had settled near by at Providence. On the advice of Massachusetts Pawtuxet came under her "government and protection" in 1642, in order that the larger colony might have the authority "to keep the peace in their lands."† Again, it was to Massachusetts in 1643 that Sacononoco, "a sachem of Pawtuxet," appealed against the sale of land at Shawomet to Gaston, by another Indian, Miantonomo. And it was before the Massachusetts court that Miantonomo was summoned in July of that year. To be sure, it was the court of the commissioners and not that of Massachusetts that passed sentence on this chief in September for conspiracy against Uncus,

*Hazard, II., 501.

†Massachusetts Records, II., 26-27.

a chief of the Mohegans and a friend of the English. But on the other hand, the trial of Gaston took place before the Massachusetts court, and it was Massachusetts that finally brought about the destruction of his settlement.

But a still more striking illustration of the important position occupied by Massachusetts can be found in her relations with her foreign neighbors. For instance, in September, 1643, the reply of the Swedish settlers on the Delaware to a remonstrance of the confederation, contained "large expressions of their respect to the English, and particularly to Massachusetts."^{*} At the same time her prominence is seen in her negotiations with the rival governors of Acadie. On the death of the former governor, Razilly, a prolonged struggle began between his assistants, La Tour and D'Aulnay, regarding the extent of their respective authority. From a dispute of words it became one of actual war. In November, 1642, La Tour began to negotiate with Boston, offering it free trade in return for its aid. Boston rather graspingly accepted the former but rejected the latter proposition. At the same time D'Aulnay wrote to Winthrop, proclaiming La Tour as a rebel, and threatening to break up this free trade and to seize all Massachusetts vessels engaged in it. This aroused the resentment of the colony, and accordingly it agreed in 1643, that although by the articles of confederation it was unable to give any direct aid to La Tour, it was not under any obligation to prevent his chartering vessels or enlisting men. Thus he was able to obtain about four ships and seventy men with which to meet his rival.[†] Again in 1644 La Tour appealed to Massachusetts for aid, but, although received with great courtesy, he was refused "in point of prudence."[‡] Events now went against La Tour, and towards the end of that year D'Aulnay sent an embassy to Boston with the official sentence of La Tour "as a rebel and a traitor." "He complained," says Winthrop, "of the wrong done by our men the last year in assisting of La Tour, etc., and proffered terms of peace and amity . . . We answered . . . that we could not conclude and league with him without the advise of the united colonies; but if he would set down his propositions in writing, we would

^{*}Winthrop, *History of New England*, II., 157.

[†]Winthrop, II., 107-109, 127.

[‡]*Ibid.*, 179.

consider further of them." The colony finally agreed to a treaty "for firm peace" and free trade between it and Acadie, under the condition of its subsequent approval by the commissioners.* These proceedings were ratified in September at the second meeting of the confederacy, and the support of the united colonies in any future negotiations was guaranteed to Massachusetts.

This struggle between the two rival French governors, while of no permanent importance to the colony, is interesting as an illustration of her pre-eminence. This is shown by the fact that all the negotiations were carried on with Massachusetts, not with the confederation; and that it was to her that the combatants turned for aid. The same is true of the negotiations of D'Ailleboust, the governor of Canada, to secure assistance against the Hurons. In 1650, according to Hutchinson, "the French governor sent an agent to Boston in order to settle . . . a league or alliance, defensive and offensive, between the government of Canada and the colonies of Massachusetts and Plimouth; but being informed that all matters of that nature were left to the commissioners of the united colonies, he returned to Canada."† To be sure, the next year "two gentlemen were sent" by the French governor "with letters to the commissioners," but the important fact is that application for aid was first made to Massachusetts.

Still more striking evidence of the leadership of Massachusetts is found in the negotiations between New England and the Dutch, for the Bay colony almost invariably acted as arbitrator in the frequent disputes between New Netherland and New Haven or Connecticut. In 1643, when trouble arose between the Dutch and Hartford, the former sent a formal complaint "directed to the governor and senate of the united province of New England," desiring to know "by a categorical answer, whether we will aid or desert them (meaning of Hartford), that so they may know their friends from their enemies."‡ Although the letter was addressed to the confederation, it was received by the governor and magistrates of Massachusetts, and it was they who sent "the following answer." They admitted that they could not

*Winthrop, II., 196-197.

†Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay Colony*, 2nd edition, I., 166-167.

‡Winthrop, II., 129.

"speak authoritatively except through the general council which was now dispersed," . . . but advised a board of arbitrators "either in England or Holland or here." It was also to the Massachusetts governor that Kieft, the Dutch governor, in 1646 addressed his complaint against the encroachments of New Haven or Fort Orange, and also against "Mr. Whiting (Hartford) for saying that the English were fools in suffering the Dutch in the centre," etc. "The governor of Massachusetts informed Mr. Eaton hereof (the commissioners being there to meet at New Haven), and tendered it to their consideration."^{*}

In 1647 the new Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, like his predecessors, treated Massachusetts as the mediator and head of New England. He seemed inclined to follow the advice of Massachusetts to Kieft, as he "sent his secretary to Boston with letters to the governor . . . taking notice of the differences between them and Connecticut, and offering to have them referred to friends here, not to determine, but to prepare for a hearing and determination in Europe . . . The commissioners being then assembled at Boston, the governor acquainted them with the letter."[†] It is an admirable illustration of the importance of Massachusetts that the letter was addressed to its governor, even though Stuyvesant must have learned from his predecessor of the confederation, and very probably was aware of its convening at that time. Later in that same year, when he certainly must have known of the existence of the confederacy as it had sent him the answer to his former letter, Stuyvesant again "wrote . . . to the governor of the Massachusetts, acquainting him with all that had passed, and desired advice." Massachusetts once more assumed the role of arbitrator, and sent conciliatory counsel both to New Haven and to New Amsterdam. Although the advice was not followed by the Dutch, Stuyvesant recognized its authority by writing a letter "excusing it to Massachusetts."[‡] Still further letters were received from New Haven and New Amsterdam by Governor Winthrop, until finally "these letters being imparted . . . to the general court at Boston they thought the matter more weighty . . . and more fitt for the

^{*}Winthrop, II., 268.

[†]Ibid, II., 314.

[‡]Winthrop, II., 314-316.

commissioners 1st to consider of."* Trouble with the Dutch was indeed a constant annoyance to the confederation, and the crisis finally came in 1653 with the rumor of a plot of the Dutch and Indians to destroy the English settlers. At this time, as formerly, Stuyvesant realized the importance of Massachusetts, and, according to Hutchinson, "conducted himself very artfully" in his negotiations with Winthrop, in order at any cost to preserve "the friendship of that colony."[†]

But Massachusetts was recognized as the leader of the confederation, not only by the foreign colonies, but also to a certain extent by the members of that union. It was the fear of its supremacy, in Winthrop's opinion, that hindered the formation of the union in 1638. "The differences between us and those of Connecticut," he wrote, "were divers; but the ground of all was the shyness of coming under our government."[‡] Indeed her supremacy was practically acknowledged at the very first meeting of the commissioners, when his representatives demanded the precedence "in the subscription of the acts and determinations of this and any further meeting of the commissioners for the united colonies." This was "willingly" granted them out of "respect to the government of the Massachusetts," although "they thought fitt to declare that this commission is free and may not receive anything, not expressly agreed in the articles, as imposed by any general court."[§] Likewise the approval by the confederation of the negotiations of Massachusetts with other colonies was a virtual acknowledgment of her leadership. To be sure, in the case of D'Auluay and La Tour, there was an implied rebuke of the aid given by Massachusetts to the latter, in the order of the commissioners "that no jurisdiction within this confederation shall permit any voluntaries to go forth in a warlike way against any people whatsoever, without order and direction of the commissioners of the several jurisdictions." But on the other hand, the commissioners at the same time not only "did fully approve the late affairs of a . . . treaty" with D'Auluay, but also declared that if the French governor should prove refractory, "that it shal be lawfull for the generall court of the Massachu-

*Ibid., II., 316.

†Hutchinson, I., 181-184.

‡Winthrop, I., 284.

§Hazard, II., 14.

setts to graunt a lymmitted commission to any of theirs" to seize French ships. Also if the court considers it necessary, "it may be lawfull for the said court in the name and for the use of the said united colonies to treat with Mons-de la Theruse" for the purchase of his territory on the St. John's river.* The influence of Massachusetts is likewise shown in the recommendation of the commissioners of 1656, that the several general courts should pass laws against the Quakers. That this resolve was due to Massachusetts is proved by the fact that it was suggested by its representatives, and that this colony alone rigidly carried it into execution.† Hutchinson also admits her pre-eminence in accounting for the failure of the dissensions over the Dutch war in 1653, to dissolve the union." "This," he declares, "seems to have been prevented only by the inferiority of the rest to the Massachusetts and their inability to stand alone."‡

But the realization of "their inability to stand alone" by no means made the other members of the confederacy slavishly subservient to Massachusetts. On the contrary, they held their ground with great firmness in the various disputes, for the great Bay Colony was extremely jealous of any encroachment on its internal government. Its course does indeed seem inconsistent at times, and to justify the complaint of the smaller colonies that "this General Court Resolves from time to time to judge not only of the justice but of the conveniency of what the Commissioners conclude."§ But in judging Massachusetts it must be remembered that of those in the union it had the least to gain and the most to lose. According to the articles of confederation, the levy required of the several members was to be in proportion to their respective populations. Consequently Massachusetts, as it was by far the most populous colony in New England, always furnished more troops than any other member of the confederation, and often more than the three colonies combined.|| Yet in spite of this fact, and in spite of the prestige given to the confederation through its wealth, the Bay Colony had only a vote equal to the poorest and most insignificant member, and its leadership was

*Hazard, II., 22-26.

†Ibid., II., 346-347.

‡Hutchinson, I., 182.

§Hazard, II., 270.

||Ibid., II., 10, 95.

not formally acknowledged. To be sure, the spoils were to be divided in proportion to the number of men furnished, but what were the spoils of an Indian campaign? It must therefore always be taken into consideration that Massachusetts continually rankled with a sense of injustice. Again, the colony was less exposed than the others to attacks from the Indians, Dutch, and French, and therefore in less need of the protection of the confederacy, while, on the other hand, her trade would make her more loath to engage in a war.

The first cause of dissension among the members of the confederation was a levy in 1645, of forty men on Massachusetts by the commissioners for a war against the Narragansetts. The usual method of raising a force was for the commissioners merely to inform the magistrates of the number of men due from each colony, leaving the actual collection of troops to the several governments. In this case, however, "as there was no tyme to stay the conveninge either of the generall court or of the standing counsell, It was ordered by the commissioners that these forty men might and ought to be raised by the present Authority, whereupon they acquainted the Governour herewith who gave assent . . . and withall sent out summons for the generall court to be assembled about five or six days after. Upon this the commissioners . . . sent warrants to the constable . . . so the constable brought in our full number and we sent them forth within three days." The Massachusetts court, when it met, wished to send a commission after the soldiers, as "they were gone without commission from the Generall Court." But the commissioners justified their action by the plea of the necessity of the case, and argued that the sending of a commission would cast discredit upon the confederation. After much dispute the Massachusetts court decided not to interfere in this instance, while the commissioners on their part, "willing to show all respect to the Massachusetts . . . made choyce . . . out of that colony . . . of Major Gibbons" as commander-in-chief. This controversy shows the jealous fear of interference on the part of Massachusetts, and also shows that, though the smaller colonies were willing, as usual, "to show all respect" to their leader, they were not willing to compromise their dignity in so doing.

But the most serious disputes between Massachusetts and her

fellow confederates arose from the toll laid by Connecticut upon Springfield, and from the refusal of Massachusetts to join in the war against the Dutch. The Springfield controversy was of long standing, and together with "the shyness" of Connecticut "of coming under" the government of Massachusetts, were the two causes of the failure of the attempt to form a confederation in 1638.* Massachusetts rightly claimed Pynchon's little settlement as within the boundaries prescribed in her charter, while Connecticut tacitly contradicted her by occasionally exercising "her authority" there. In 1645 Connecticut revived the dispute by laying "an imposition . . . upon goods passing through the mouth of the Connecticut,"† with the alleged object of defraying the expenses of the fort at Saybrook. The town of Springfield refused to pay the toll on the ground that, as it was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, it could not be taxed by another colony. Connecticut "deferred . . . the execution" of the penalty of confiscation of property "until the judgment of the commissioners . . . might be understood."‡

The matter was therefore brought before the united colonies in the autumn of 1646, but its consideration was postponed until a special meeting in the following spring, as the Massachusetts commissioners had received no instructions on the subject. Accordingly, in June, 1647, a written statement of their case was presented by each of the colonies, with the result that the commissioners from New Haven and Plymouth decided in favor of Connecticut. They did, however, order that the toll should "be neither at any time hereafter raised, nor increased upon any of the inhabitants of Springfield, without just and necessary cause, to be first approved and allowed by the other colonies," and that Massachusetts or Springfield "shall have liberty further to propound or object." New arguments were therefore brought forward by both Massachusetts and Connecticut at the next meeting in the autumn of 1648.

Meanwhile, the ill feeling aroused in Massachusetts by this adverse decision was shown in the spring of 1648, by the drawing up of a revision of the articles of confederation, by the general

*Winthrop, I., 284-285.

†Hazard, II., 81.

‡Connecticut Records, I., 189.

§Hazard, II., 84.

court. These proposed alterations were laid before the commissioners at their spring meeting, for approval. Their object, as stated by the Massachusetts court, was to revise "the acts which had passed the commissioners already, which might seem to confound the power of the General Court, or so interfere with it as might in a short time prove not only prejudicial, but exceeding uncomfortable."* The irritation of the colony at the Springfield decision is especially noticeable in the proposition that, "Whereas there be divers orders made by the Commissioners, . . . only by way of advice to the Generall Courts of the severall colonyes, . . . and yet are in some cases introductions to orders where the advise is not followed, it is to bee propounded if it were not seasonable to be declared, that in such cases, if any of the colonyes shall not think fitt to follow such advice, the same not to be accounted any offence or breach of any article of our confederation."† Most of the proposals also dealt with the more exact wording of the articles of confederation, "so that the Commission's Power should not extend to limett or interrupt the Sivell Government or church affaires within any of the colonies"‡—an excellent example of Massachusetts's dread of outside interference.

Three of the proposals, however, to quote the words of the commissioners, "imparted . . . a reall change in the tearmes and covenant of confederation." The first of these was indeed a blow at the very life of the union. It was: "If the annuall meeting were not better to be triannuall except occasion require any meeting in the intervall, and the Commissioners at such occasionall meetings to have power, to put off the next Triannuall meeting if they see cause." The idea of Massachusetts seems to have been to prevent any further arbitration by the united colonies, and to limit their activities to their primary objects of union, which were to preserve and propagate . . . the Gospel, and to provide for mutuall safety against enemies." Such a view can alone explain the apparent contradiction between the first and second propositions, as it shows that Massachusetts had no desire to weaken the machinery of the confederation, but merely wished by infrequent meetings to prevent the consideration of any other question than that of the Indians or of war. The

*Massachusetts Records, III., 129.

†Hazard, II., 108-109.

‡Ibid, II., 108.

second suggestion was that: "Whereas in case sixe of the commissioners shall not agree the cause is to be referred to the fouer General Courtes, and by theire joynt agreements to be determined, etc., to be considered if it were not more expedient to bee determined upon the agreement of any three of them." Fortunately for the usefulness of the confederation, the first of these propositions was rejected; but unfortunately the second met the same fate, when referred to the several courts for consideration. The third suggestion shows the old feeling of injustice, but was indeed an eminently fair proposition. "Whereas . . . the colony of the Massachusetts beares almost five for one in proporsion of charge with any one of the rest, they desire to have one Commissioner more, or otherwise" to have the other member "beare the lieke proportion of charge with the Massachusetts." However, this suggestion, like the other two, was rejected.**

At this same meeting of the united colonies, arguments against the impost upon Springfield were again presented by Massachusetts, and answered by Connecticut. However, the commissioners of New Haven and Connecticut decided that "they found not sufficient cause to reverse what was done the last year."† The matter was brought forward with the same results, at the next meeting; whereupon the Massachusetts commissioners disclosed an order, passed by their court two months before, laying an impost upon articles imported into or exported out of the bay, by either Connecticut, New Haven, or Plymouth.‡ It was undoubtedly, as the other commissioners declared, "a Return or Retaliation upon the three colonies for Sebrook and the law requires it of no other English nor of any stranger of what nation soever." This seemed especially unjust to Plymouth and New Haven, as their commissioners "as arbitrators . . . have been only exercised in the question and that upon the request of the Massachusetts." All that Massachusetts gained by this rather undignified act of retaliation was a remonstrance from the commission, and a request "to bee spared in all farthur agitation concerning Sprinkfeild."§ The general court seems to have reconsidered this act, as it was repealed in the following year.||

*Hazard, II., 108-125.

†Ibid, II., 122.

‡Massachusetts Records, II., 269-270.

§Hazard, II., 143.

||Massachusetts Records, III., 191.

If Massachusetts yielded with rather bad grace to the arbitration of the commissioners, it must be admitted in justice to her that, in spite of the decision of New Haven and Plymouth, her arguments against the imposition were certainly more convincing than those of Connecticut in its favor. The toll was justified by the latter colony on the ground: first, that its object was the maintenance of a fort at Saybrook, which was as useful to "that plantation . . . as to Connecticut; secondly, that the position of Springfield within another jurisdiction was not so cleared but that the jurisdiction of Connecticut had liberty for their enquiry, and conceived they had cause to make claim there unto."^{*}

As a matter of fact, however, the fort was burned down during the discussion, and never furnished any real protection to either of the colonies. Nor was the money raised by the toll, used for restoring it. Massachusetts, therefore, asked with justice whether the impost was laid for "the purchase of the fort at the river's mouth, or as custom." Moreover as the claim that Springfield was within its boundaries was later officially recognized, the argument that that settlement could not be taxed by Connecticut was valid. Massachusetts likewise questioned the right of the commissioners, in accordance with the articles of confederation, "to make an order to enjoin custom or impost to be paid by any particular town to its own or any other jurisdiction." To this Connecticut replied, that there was "an order of the General Court of Connecticut" demanding this payment of Springfield. But the order was never produced, although frequently requested by the commissioners.[†] Nor was the claim that Connecticut should be a free water way to every settlement on that river, without its legal justification; and it was, as Palfrey shows, an important precedent to establish, because of the presence of the Dutch.

^{*}Hazard, II., 82, 83, 117.

[†]Ibid, II., 120-122.

Some Recent Products of the New School of Southern Fiction

BY JOHN RAPER ORMOND

The new school of Southern fiction has come into existence since the civil war. It may be divided into at least two parts. The first may be called the negro-dialect division. It marks an attempt to represent in fiction what is perhaps the most picturesque side of the old régime, that is to say, the life of the old family slave. To the accomplishment of this task the striking nature of the negro dialect and the rich tone of the negro's feeling lend themselves. Of the writers who were most successful in writing this kind of novels the most prominent are Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page. But the movement in which they were placed had a narrow basis and it was soon exhausted. It did not take long to paint the simple face of "Ole Mammy" or "Uncle Toby." If it had been the purpose of the writers to paint also the lives of other classes of old negroes, such as the field hands, the runaways, the "bad negroes" who were sold into the far South, the yellow descendants of negro mistresses, or the uncouth lumbermen and fishermen who lived far out on the border of the Southern community, the negro school of fiction would have had a broader basis in fact and its continuation would have been longer. But this was not the intention of our novelists. They were bent on ideality. They sought to describe the good negroes and the happy ones; and so far as this task went it was well performed. It was also soon finished; and ere long those who had performed it, even the best of them, realized that they must set their hands to another kind of work. Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page have long since ceased to write dialect stories.

The second division of the new school of Southern fiction has dealt with the life of the old Southern planter class, chiefly in the period after the civil war. It has been given to idealism as much as the dialect division. It has been inspired by affection and Southern loyalty; and it has had no note of criticism in it. The American public, which is not ungracious in dealing with the feelings of those who have passed through great calamities, has

given it a gentle reception. It has encouraged the most minute promises of genius in a manner at once generous and courteous.

Perhaps James Lane Allen did more than anyone else to open the eyes of Southern writers to the possibilities of this field of fiction. His earliest stories were dreams of beauty. They were as delicate and as fascinating as the lace-bedecked dress of a partner at a ball. They revealed the wonderful possibilities in story-writing, of the old Southern matron, the perfect and natural Southern maiden, and the high-minded Southern gentleman. It is impossible to describe the despairing sense of grace and naturalness which "The Kentucky Cardinal" and "Aftermath" made on a person whose appetite for fiction had been satisfying itself on Howells and Meredith. The large commercial demand for these books marked the approval of the reading public. Then the author was led away from the Kentucky fields where he had got his inspiration. His later books show how much less of that quality there is in a New York club and a daily wild plunge across the New Jersey flats in the grey mists of the morning or the dun shadows of the evening.

The purpose of the new group of writers has been to glorify the old life. It essays to show how the old Southern blood, though crushed by misfortune, remained still royal blood and re-asserted its superiority in the newer life. Now this basis of life is also narrow. It does not take long to paint the virtues of the old planter. His life was not a complex one; and the novelists who have described it have, perforce, painted all their heroes, all their heroines, and all their villains respectively alike. They have arrived, in fact, at a formula, which is a simple one. It embraces a fine old estate, a romantic old mansion, a broad-backed son who has a stiff-backed father, some wide and thoughtful brows which cannot conform to the slouching of a poor man's hat, a masterful way of dealing with men, a refined concept of honor and dignity, and an heroic endurance of difficulties. It has provision, also, for dainty women who ride horseback, for prim women who do needlework, for sentimental women who cultivate old-fashioned flowers, and for severe women who cultivate old-fashioned manners. It was thrown into relief by introducing some "poor whites," some uncouth overseers, and some garrulous negroes. Added to all there must be an abundant use of such

striking adjectives as "lush," "picturesque," "deep-chested," "mettlesome," "sensuous," and "dank."

Now this formula admits of little variation; and recently it has been well exhausted. That is, perhaps, the reason why one hears so many people say of late that the Southern novels are becoming tiresome. Certainly the Southern novel appears to be losing the popularity it had three years ago. If it does not widen its formula to take in a more varied consideration of life its career is probably exhausted.

But the most vital criticism of the newer school of Southern fiction is that it does not represent truly the condition of Southern society since the war. Of course, it is not required of the novelist that he should paint his picture so that it will be accurate in every respect. That is the requirement of the historian. But he ought to paint in such a way that his completed picture will give the impression of truth. His cleverness ought to be so expended as to bring out prominently the salient points of the true condition of affairs. Now this is just what the latest Southern novels do not do. Starting out, as they do, to exalt the old planter in the days of his adversity they give a false color to existing Southern life; for it is true that most of the people who are doing things in the South today are not the sons of the old planters, but those who represent the old middle classes. The leading professional men, business men, financiers, and politicians of the new time are from this class. Moreover, it is not true, as the novelists seem some times to say, that the only living men of the South who have proper ideals are from the old planter class. Among the descendants of the old middle class are men of as high ideals as among the descendants of the planter class. Among the most conscienceless politicians of the country are men whose blood has been blue for two centuries. Any book, the implication of which is that the virtue of the new time is found in one of these classes and the vice in the other class, is false in its teaching.

If the truth must be told, the new school of story-writers in the South lack large information and mental development. They are not, as a rule, men or women of sound education. Living in a region in which society is organized in a simple and natural manner they have not received the educational impressions which come from close contact with a highly complex social organism.

For these and other reasons they have manifested much spontaneity in their emotions. Perhaps this is but a temporary fault and one which will be removed as educational sentiment improves in the South and as society loses its rural simplicity. However that may be, it is evident that our conscious attempts to modify the situation ought to be directed toward securing greater learning and wider experiences in the persons of our novelists.

After saying these things about Southern fiction in general it is, doubtless, ungracious to come to a discussion of any particular examples of it. But it is necessary to speak truly and that can be done without unkindness. Of the three novels which are now before me,* it is possible to say, also, that they are no worse, and in some respects they are better, than their class. "Gordon Keith," which we were all reading a year ago, was a woful seeking for light where none was to be found. "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come," although not devoid of the blue-grass shimmer, was nevertheless a close following of the formula which James Lane Allen gave us some years ago. But the novels of which I shall here speak show some tendency to break away into new fields, although in this respect they do not go far.

Miss Glasgow, of all the living Southern novelists, has perhaps the strongest grasp on actual life. Her sympathies are human and her observation seems to have been many-sided. Her faculty of portrayal is excellent. Perhaps her originality is not very striking. Christopher Blake, the high-born young Southerner, taller than most men, stronger than most men, cloud compelling thunderer in a small community, is after all the regulation Southerner of the novels. He differs from the broad-chested Gordon Keith in nothing but his environments; and, in fact, he harks back to Hugh Wynne, who in turn makes us think of John Ridd in "Lorna Doon." The setting of the story is good, and the plot has some striking features. All things considered there is abundant genius in the book, enough to make us think that if the author would only break away from the tyranny of her formula, she might give us a really strong and de-localized Southern novel.

*The Deliverance. By Ellen Glasgow. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904,—vii., 543 pp.

In the Red Hills. By Elliott Crayton McCants. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904.—340 pp.

The Circle in the Square. By Baldwin Sears. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1903,—viii., 396 pp.

McCants's "In the Red Hills" disappoints one in the first chapters. It is tame and common place. But as the story proceeds it develops much strength. The author throws into it a strong and quick manner of narration which goes far to redeem many shortcomings in his purpose and in the manner in which it is worked out. But the hero is "tall and deep-chested and strong" (p. 71); and when that is said one may guess what follows.

The purpose of Mr. Sears in "The Circle Within the Square" is to show how a strong-spirited young man is able to do a considerable part to right the evil political conditions of a Southern town. In doing so the corruption of local politics is not spared and the influence of election frauds on the negroes is portrayed with what is perhaps too strong a touch. But here the eternal formula comes in. There is not much difference between Shan Morgan and Billy Mason and Christopher Blake. Shan's environment is his own, of course, but his nature is not unlike that of all the other heroes of Southern novels. Moreover, Mr. Sears has not good artistic ability. In some chapters he has fair sailing and we begin to have hopes of a prosperous voyage, but almost before we realize it he is in the shallows or swirling around in the eddies.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEGROES OF COLUMBIA, MISSOURI. A Concrete Study of the Race Problem. By William Wilson Elwang. With a preface by Charles A. Ellwood. Columbia, Mo.: Published by the Department of Sociology, University of Missouri, 1904,—vii., 69 pp.

This monograph is "an attempt to study, systematically, the vital, economical, social, and ethical conditions of the nearly two thousand negroes living in the city of Columbia, Missouri, in the years 1901 and 1902." Among the topics treated are economic conditions, occupations and wages, benevolent, insurance and social societies, religious life, education, health and morals, crime, and politics. The investigation seems to have been made with commendable care and the results are presented in an interesting way. The concluding chapter on the negro's future is not too hopeful. Mr. Elwang says: "It is simple fact that no matter how well you educate him, the negro cannot compete with the white man, man for man. It is like putting a child of ten against a man of forty. In this very fact, however, lies the hope of the race. The unfit are thereby being weeded out and the fit alone, however few in number, will survive." The view of Keane, the ethnologist, is quoted that "without miscegenation the negro seems to have no future, a truth which but for false sentiment and theological prejudice would have long since been universally recognized." This concluding chapter also advocates that for the education of the negroes there should be a separate and distinct school system under the control of skilled specialists, that for their police control there should be courts similar to juvenile courts, that religiously they ought to be under the tutelage of white churches, and that politically they ought to be frankly disfranchised.

It is interesting to note that this monograph was written under the direction of Professor Ellwood, a Northern man, and that it probably to a very considerable extent represents his own views after a few years of residence in a community where there is a considerable negro population. In his preface Professor Ellwood says that the negro problem is primarily one of economic adjustment and that its solution "consists first of all in giving the negro

such training as will fit him for a place in our industrial life." He thinks that only the federal government can undertake to carry out a plan of industrial training for the negro on a large scale. "The negroes, like the Indians, are still essentially a nature people. There is no reason why the federal government should not, at least during their minority, regard them, like the Indians, as wards of the government, and provide for their education accordingly. Only it is to be hoped that the federal government would not repeat with the negro the blunders which it has made in its attempts to educate and civilize the Indian." W. H. G.

THE GATEWAY SERIES: Henry Van Dyke, General Editor. New York: The American Book Company, 1903.

This is a series of English classics intraded for use as text books in colleges and preparatory schools. The aim seems to have been to provide an inexpensive book and, at the same time, one which should have the advantage of careful editing. The name of Van Dyke as general editor is sufficient guarantee of the integrity of the series, while the separate volumes bear the names of editors already well known for their ability. The series contains among its eighteen volumes, *Burke's Speech on Conciliation*, William MacDonald, Brown University; *Macaulay's Milton*, E. L. Gulick, Lawrenceville School; *Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice*, Felix E. Schelling, University of Pennsylvania; *George Eliot's Silas Marner*, W. L. Cross, Yale University; and *Carlyle's Essay on Burns*, Edwin Mims, Trinity College, North Carolina.

Carlyle's *Essay on Burns* may be taken as a typical volume. It contains one hundred and sixty pages (6¾ inches by 5¼ inches), bound in cloth. A picture of Carlyle serves as a frontispiece. An introduction occupies fifty-three pages. The first chapter of this is devoted to a short but comprehensive sketch of Carlyle's life, told largely in Carlyle's own words. This is followed by an estimate of Carlyle's character and influence. Then comes a criticism of the *Essay on Burns*, followed by a sketch of Burns's life. Following the text of the essay there are some twenty-five pages of carefully selected notes.

In interpreting Carlyle and Burns Dr. Mims has, as far as possible, let them speak for themselves; he has sought to inter-

pret them from the standpoint of their own temperaments and surroundings, and has industriously labored to throw upon his subject all the light from all possible sources.

The Gateway Series is well adapted for use in the class-room.

E. C. PERROW.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF ROBERT LEWIS DABNEY. By Thomas Cary Johnson. Richmond, Va.: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1903,—vii., 585 pp.

It would be difficult to find a more pronounced type of the conservative Southerner than Dr. Dabney, the story of whose life is given in this volume. While the reader may not agree with Professor Johnson's exaggerated estimate of him as entitled to "the first place amongst the theological thinkers and writers of his century," he cannot but be impressed with the commanding position he held as a leader in the Presbyterian church for forty years or more. Before the war he was offered a chair at Princeton and the pastorate of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian church, but he chose in both instances to work in the South. As his biographer says, after summarizing the life of the old South, "he was its child and he loved it with all his great big soul." He was opposed to slavery at first, but the "mad fanatics" of the North put him on the other side. Like most conservative Virginians he was theoretically in favor of secession, but he condemned severely the hasty action of South Carolina "as unjustifiable towards the United States at large, and towards her Southern sisters, as treacherous, wicked, insolent, and mischievous." When the war came, however, he was in thorough sympathy with his section. As chaplain and as adjutant on Jackson's staff, he played an important part. After the war he was in favor of going to some foreign country, suggesting the plan originally proposed by William of Orange—of migrating in great numbers, so that Virginia might be preserved there if not in this country. For four years he advocated this plan, believing that infidelity was to be dominant in this country. Although he gave up this plan, he never became reconstructed. Others might forgive and forget—not he. He opposed union with the Northern Presbyterian church till his death; he made violent attacks on modern scientists, thus bringing on the controversy with Dr. Woodrow; he resisted any

idea of modifying the Calvinistic creed. He opposed the establishment of a common school system as "infidel, disorganizing in tendency, and Yankeeish;" if it must come, then there should be separate school funds for the two races. On all these questions he was "ever a fighter" on the conservative side. In his old age, while teaching at the University of Texas, he lost his eyesight. There are many interesting letters in the volume. Professor Johnson is prone to put too high an estimate on the intellectual qualities of Dr. Dabney and to give him the palm in every contest he wages.

E. M.

INTRODUCTION TO DANTE'S INFERNO. By Adolpheus T. Ennis. Boston: Richard G. Badger—The Gorham Press, 1904.

In the very unassuming preface to this book we have stated the purpose of the author in presenting a new "Introduction" to the long list of Dante bibliography. In brief, it is not to give a new commentary of the text nor to furnish annotations about historical events and persons, but the "Introduction" is to be a guide or Mentor. It will accompany Dante and Vergil on their journey and will in each canto point out their actions and register their words. The explanations and interpretations added will be only the necessary ones based on the authorities that have handed down the traditional sense of the poem.

This plan is quite consistently adhered to. In the few references to mooted points and historical personages the author leans strongly to the Church of Rome, but is not dogmatic. And in the main we do have clearly indicated for us the central theme of the poem, the struggle of the soul of man for happiness and salvation both spiritual and temporal. The political ideas of Dante are suggested, but are properly given a secondary place.

But the difficulties inherent in a book planned along these lines militate greatly against its attractiveness. To sum up the events canto by canto in plain language is to strip the *Inferno* of its vivid imagery and transform it into a very condensed prose analysis. And we miss the culminative effect of Lowell's masterly essay in which the great underlying themes are summed up and treated en masse. This book, therefore, will not offer anything new to those who are already familiar with the main themes of the subject. It will scarcely be of great service to the trained

reader to whom the studies of Lowell, Dr. Norton and Dr. Moore and the standard commentaries are clear and comprehensible when read in connection with the text. It fails inevitably to have the charm of some of these treatises. But to the relatively untrained reader for the first time approaching the study of Dante it can be of service in keeping before him the story sometimes hidden between the wealth of Dantesque imagery and in initiating him into the consideration of the great underlying problems of the *Inferno*. For it is simple and fair and follows the poem canto by canto. The title "Introduction" is happily chosen.

A. M. W.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Thomas E. Watson.
New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903, 387 pp.

Mr. Watson writes history far more entertainingly than most historians. If he only added to his charming manner of narration a balanced judgment and an acquaintance with first hand materials he would be a welcome addition to our American school of history writers. One cannot read either his "Napoleon," or his "France," or this latest volume without exclaiming, "What a pity that so good an historian was spoiled to make so poor a politician!" Spoiled he certainly is for all future history writing; for it is difficult to see how a man whose judgment is so wielded by his feelings can ever come to tell his story with the restraint and impersonality which characterize a good historian.

In the "Jefferson" Mr. Watson hopes to relieve his subject from that odium which, as he believes, the venom of the federalists has thrown upon him. There is just here, no doubt, room for a clear and unbiased revision of the opinion of history; but it is not to be got by turning as lurid a gleam on the federalists as they are charged with having turned on their opponents. They were not scoundrels any more than the anti-federalists. The two parties represent two opposite forces in American life, forces which came out of different social conditions and which worked for different results. The wise historian will seek to understand the development of each.

In describing the career of Jefferson Mr. Watson reveals first of all his Southern leaning. The part of the South in the revolution, says he, has never been properly treated. This must be righted.

Then, other historians must be disposed of. Among them are Professor Channing, "who makes a profession of history at Harvard," Woodrow Wilson, Lodge, Roosevelt, and Henry Adams. Also, politicians who opposed Jefferson must be got out of the way; and this is valiantly done to the serious impairing of the historical standing of Hamilton, John Adams, John Marshall, and whatever other of their associates stood in his way. Most singular of all, the reputation of the miserable Genet is galvanized into respectability and even Burr is relieved of half of his odium to find a favorable setting for the career of the founder of the political school in which the biographer believes so devotedly. All of this is but the specious pleading of an advocate, witty and attractive, no doubt, but neither serviceable nor true.

"A HILL PRAYER AND OTHER POEMS," by Marian Warner Wildman (R. G. Badger, Boston), is a delightful little volume filled from first to last with sincere and musical lyrics and nature poems, evidently written by a true lover of the woods and fields, the hills and mountains, and of the beautiful in human life. The first poem, excepting a beautiful and modest metrical introduction, is the "Hill Prayer," for which the book is named. It represents a prayer of thanksgiving by a votarist who has vainly striven to see the unveiled face of God, but who is now glad to behold Him in the beautiful veil of nature which He spreads before us, believing that God is revealed even in our dreams and visions of beauty.

"My dreams too fair to be? O thou whose love
Dreams beauty into being, makes it true—
Those far white clouds that float across the blue,
The sweet spring day here and that hidden dove;

"I ask no more to see, to understand.
Not yet, O God, not yet the unveiled face!
Let me through many springtimes search the grace
In one of these the marvels of Thy hand.

"Not for some far-off heaven's higher bliss,
Not for some destiny that waits for me,
Not for dream-gloried worlds that are to be,
But for the simple loveliness of this;
Close to this throbbing hillside's fragrant breast,
I love Thee, with a beauty-broken heart,
And worship Thee, be whatsoe'er Thou art."

These lines are suggestive of the character of the majority of the poems throughout the volume. The author revels in the beauty of nature in her various forms, in such a spontaneous and concrete way as to bring back the pleasurable recollections of early spring, of summer rains, of flowering meadows, and of fragrant woods. The style is suggestive of that of Sidney Lanier.

One of the best of the poems relating directly to human life and events is the one entitled, "God's Way," suggested by the last words of President McKinley. The following is a quotation from this poem:

"Our way, could we have chosen, would have been
To let the risen sun go down serene
Into the west, so gradual and slow
We scarce should feel the changes, scarce regret
The sunset passing of an ended day,
Since noon was half forgotten ere night came.
God's way it was to strike from out the sky
Our noonday sun and leave the zenith bare,
That by the bitter darkness we might know
How bright had been the shining that we mourned,
The light too little heeded while it shone."

J. F. BIVINS.

"THE ROSE OF OLD SEVILLE, A PLAY AND POEMS," by Elizabeth Minot (R. G. Badger, Boston), as the title indicates, contains a drama and a number of poems. The drama is a Spanish romance of the mediæval times presented in three acts. The scene is laid in Seville. This play is decidedly the poorest thing in the book. The story is clumsily told; the characters are mere figureheads with but little to distinguish them apart except the explanations in parentheses. The supernatural element represented by the Whitle Lady, the good spirit, and by Diavolo, the evil spirit, is thoroughly consistent in a mediæval romance of this kind, but is handled so artificially that it weakens the play.

The only praiseworthy parts of the drama are the choruses and chants. These are genuinely musical and pleasing. In this kind of poetry Miss Minot is at her best. This is shown by the poems in the second division of the book: The "Flower Song," the "Slumber Song," "A Sea Song," and the "Chickadee" are meritorious pieces of work. If we add to these "Mary Stuart's Prayer,"

"A Friend," "Life and Death," "Rest," and several of the short nature poems we have a collection that evinces talent and is well worth reading.

J. F. BIVINS.

"THE RADIANT ROAD," by Ethelwyn Wetherald (R. G. Badger, Boston), is a small volume containing fifty-eight short poems on a variety of subjects, nearly all containing some philosophy of life intended to cheer the discouraged and to dispel pessimistic thoughts. It will be read with pleasure by those who need encouragement amidst trials.

J. F. B.

